

IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents

I think I can I think I can

Republicans
attempt a comeback.
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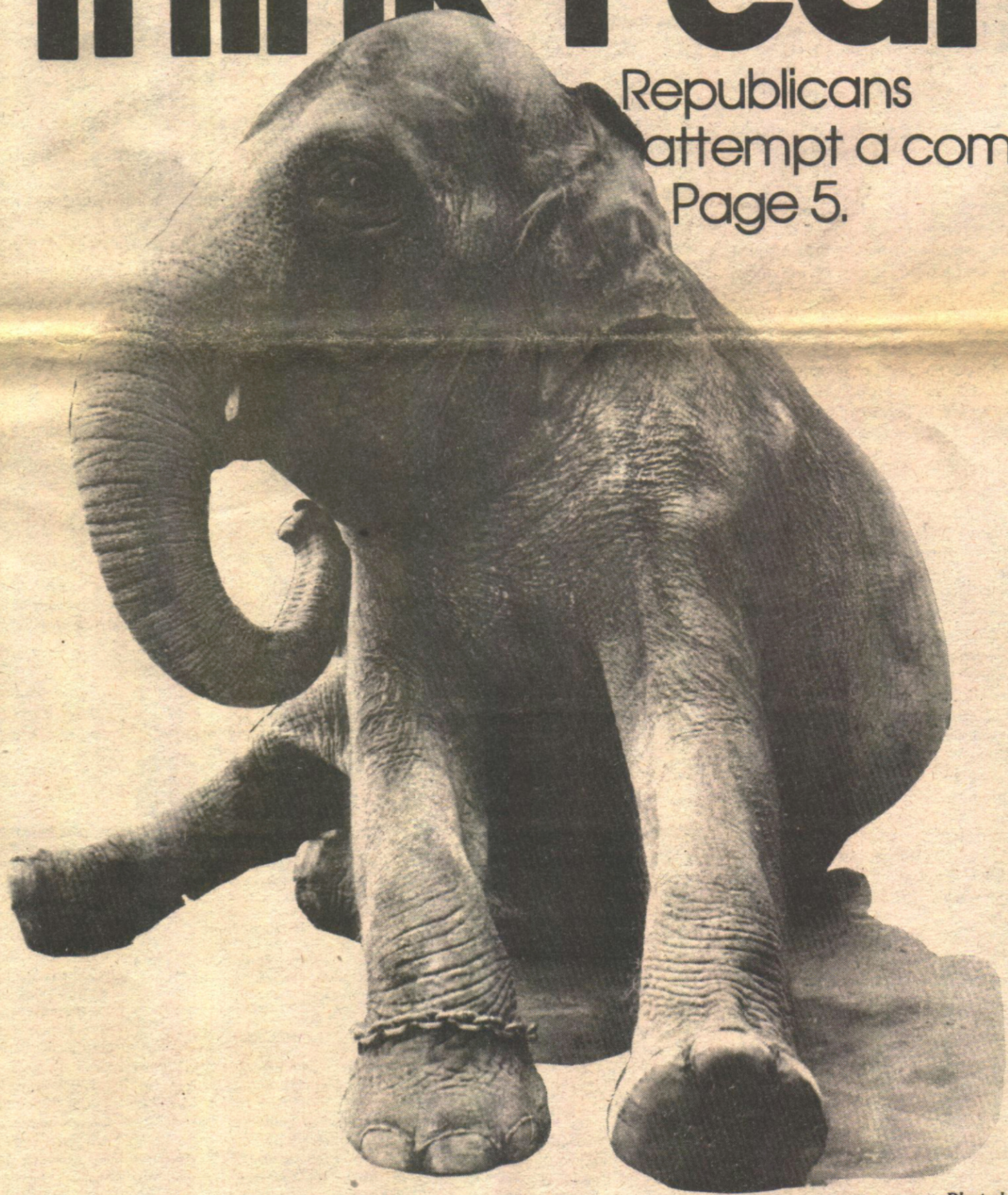


Photo by Robert Schaeffer

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THE INSIDE STORY

Guest column by Bob Hall

Jimmy Carter mixes Coca-Cola and IBM

Figuring out Jimmy Carter has become such an exciting and profitable pastime for writers and commentators that it may be too good to give up. Even when what he is becomes obvious, we'll still keep watching his every move, ever more impressed by a finesse that has not been seen in Washington for many years. Jimmy Carter is a master illusionist, and even when his magic is known to be nothing more than a series of finely tuned techniques, the power to captivate our attention will remain, perhaps even intensify.

Many of us in the South were understandably amused by the success of Jimmy's big act on the campaign trail. We gleefully watched him mesmerize the normally haughty national media and parlay the symbols of Southern provincialism into a national revival.

Southerners are quite familiar with the politician as magician. In fact, the South itself may rightly be seen as largely illusion: a place built on images, on the manipulation of symbols and the projection of order, beauty and unity onto what would otherwise appear as arbitrary, coercive and fragmented.

It is no surprise that the South has nurtured its brightest minds into the nation's most noted novelists, journalists, politicians and preachers. These are the trades that thrive in a culture rooted in myth and mystery, rhetoric and romance. Jimmy Carter is a hero in this culture.

The Americanization of the Southern hero.

What we have now is the Americanization of the Southern hero, or rather the Southernization of America's identity crisis. For generations Southern politicians have made it into office by promising their voters nothing more than self-respect.

With an impressive repertoire of gimmicks and symbols (from galoshes and suspenders to Bibles and bicycles), they succeeded by making the mass of defeated, humiliated white Southerners believe in themselves, believe that they *could* survive, that they were better than *those other people*, that the South *shall* rise again! Southern politicians gave people pride, not prosperity, and for more than a century it worked.

Now an America shaken by the guilt of Vietnam, the shame of Richard Nixon and the anxiety of economic crisis has turned to a modern Southerner for a few words of moral uplift. Jimmy Carter's mission is to deliver us from evil with a government "as good as the people." He promises to restore our national image, our belief in ourselves. Oh yes, Lord! We are a great country after all. Our righteousness will see us through the hard days. America *shall* rise again.

It's a fantastic image, and with the proper orchestration it will continue to sell big.

The trick, of course, is to package his image so well

that it keeps selling even after it is recognized as rhetoric. The medium must become the message: the humble, gracious, open-minded, honest President is the government! Responsive politics is no longer a system that makes the state accountable to people, but a super-leader that citizens have access to. We believe that the government cares because Jimmy cares, and he's okay because he says we're okay. We are gently reminded that our real strengths as a nation are moral, not material, and our new feeling of superiority helps us forget who's pushing the cost of energy up, or why we're laid off, or what happened to national health insurance.

Coupling charm with technology.

For this kind of finesse to be believable, very sophisticated image manipulation is required—too sophisticated for the run-of-the-mill, good-ole-boy Southern "populist."

Jimmy Carter has succeeded so well—and will continue to do so—because he understands better than any previous President, including the facile JFK, that the power of magic in politics depends on mastering the techniques that control the audience's attention. He has coupled his regional instincts for charm, sincerity and rhetoric with a keen appreciation for the technology that allows him to know and shape what it is people want to hear and feel.

There is no contradiction in this: the best magician is always the best technician. He knows exactly when to look you in the eye, when to tug his sleeve, when to introduce a new prop, with each movement designed to lull you into thinking things are happening that really aren't.

It is precisely Carter's preoccupation with the mechanisms of political leadership that separates him from the intuitive, earthy Southern style of a Bible-quoting Sam Ervin or a sloganeering George Wallace.

He is the master magician because he has adapted his skills as a technician, an engineer and a management specialist to the problem of Presidential power in an era when people are cynical about politics and Presidents.

Packaging "the real thing."

In the campaign, the merger of image and technology was best represented by Pat Caddell, the Yankee computer-polling wizard. Everything from the green color-coding of the campaign literature to the inspirational tone of the Carter speeches was developed from detailed analysis of computer print-outs on the American voter.

In fact, the process started in 1974 when Carter, as the Democratic party's national campaign coordinator for the mid-term election, gathered an elaborately detailed portrait of voters that revealed how hungry people were for symbols they could believe in again.

With this knowledge, Carter began his act, dropping one image after another into the national media about who he *really* was: populist, outsider, non-racist, agrarian, management expert, fiscal conservative, born-again Christian.

In the final days of the campaign, when Carter's popularity in the polls was slipping, the creator of hundreds of Coca-Cola commercials, Tony Schwartz, was brought in to help. The voters were beginning to wonder if the moralist farmer they liked could be a respectable president; so the man who worked on making Coke "the real thing" repackaged Carter as the serious, subdued candidate.

"We took him out of the fields and put him in a suit in a library," says Schwartz about the new TV ads. "Whether it's Coca-Cola or Jimmy Carter, what we appeal to in the consumer or voter is an attitude. We don't try to convey a point of view, but a montage of images and sounds that leaves the viewer with a positive attitude toward the product regardless of his perspective."

This final touch by Coke's brilliant media technician put Carter over the top and foreshadowed things to come.

Drawing on Coke and IBM.

In the White House the Carter show has taken on dazzling dimensions. It's not just that he continues working the symbols to keep his own popularity high. He literally intends to transform the image and technique of government administration so that it becomes both more acceptable to the general population and more efficient in serving America's economic interests in a new era of global competition.

To accomplish such an ambitious goal Carter first brought in a team of management wizards who had the vision, administrative skills and muted arrogance to re-order America's system of government. The merger of image and technique that these managers relish is perhaps best illustrated by the members of the Carter team selected from two of the world's largest multinational corporations, Coca-Cola and IBM (including Coke-retained attorneys and executives Griffin Bell, Joseph Califano; Charles Kirbo, Charles Duncan and J. Paul Austin, and IBM directors Harold Brown, Patricia Harris and Cyrus Vance).

No other organizations have succeeded so well in perfecting the technique of packaging their products with an irresistible mystique. Coca-Cola has done it by literally transforming what is essentially colored sugar water into an all-purpose elixir indispensable to life itself. It is the world's quintessential manipulator of images.

IBM has done it by making technological innovations indispensable to the business world's capacity to expand. It is the quintessential manipulator of information, the basis of modern organizational planning and power.

Behind the images of these clean companies faithfully serving their constituents lie nothing less than the most sophisticated, shrewd and far-sighted corporate managers in the world. Like Carter, they are fundamentally technicians, the master manipulators of image and information; they deal in goals and management-by-objective, not antiquated ideologies that can be labeled "conservative" or "liberal." Like Carter, they are specialists in reorganizing bureaucracies to maximize their efficiency in solving problems.

Restoring faith and the dollar.

Their two interrelated goals are to restore public confidence in a faltering domestic political economy and to bolster the position of the dollar—the ultimate expression of America—in an expanding system of international trade.

The first requires opening the government to outsiders with everything from walk-in voter registration to phone-in talk shows; and in doing that Carter appears liberal.

The second involves controlling inflation with everything from cutting pork-barrel spending to opposing labor's minimum wage; and in doing that Carter appears the conservative.

In reality, both programs are part of a style of politics as new to the South as to Washington. It is a style that unites magic and technology, image and information, a style that is more fascinated with the mechanism of efficient administration for reaching measurable objectives than with balancing off the special interest and their lobbyists.

Behind the sleight-of-hand tricks, Jimmy's act has more to do with the introduction of corporate gamesmanship and computer technology into Presidential politics than with bringing work shirts and black-eyed peas into the White House. It is the dramatic distortion of democracy, not its fulfillment.

Bob Hall is the editor of Southern Exposure (Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC, 27514). This article is drawn from their current issue, "Good Times and Growing Pains."

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ENERGY

Commoner blasts 'Trojan horse' in energy plan

by David Moberg
Staff Writer

In the toughest possible terms, ecologist Barry Commoner has attacked President Carter's energy plan as a dangerous "deception" that will bring more concentrated power to the big energy corporations, lower standards of living for American workers, and a "Trojan horse" commitment to an energy future dominated by nuclear power and the untested, potentially disastrous breeder reactor.

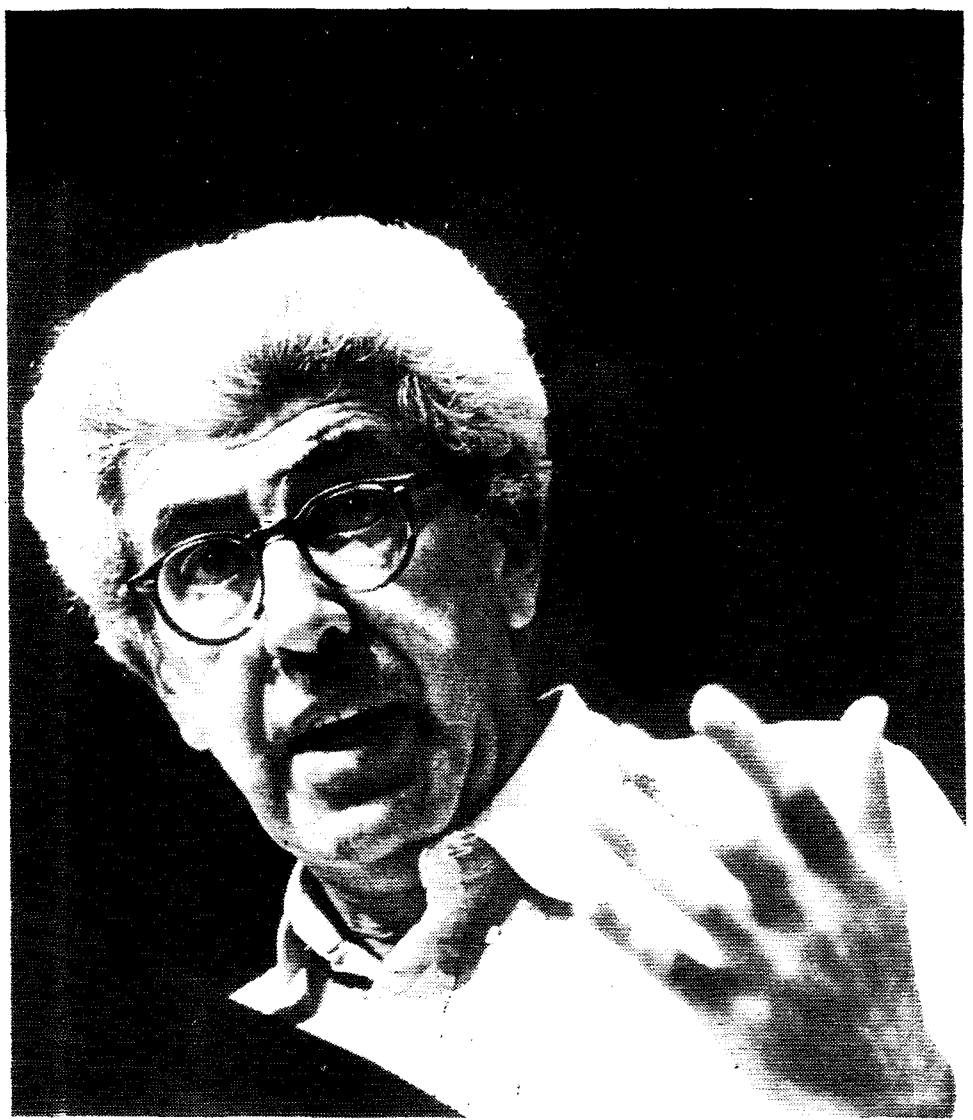
Commoner, author of *The Poverty of Power* and director of the Center for the Biology of Natural Systems at Washington University, told the National Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policy in Denver on July 8 that under the guise of an energy plan Carter is trying to work through a program for redistribution of wealth and power that would be bitterly fought if it were openly presented.

"The political significance of the Carter energy plan has not yet been assimilated," Commoner said. "People now face the issue of the dependability of their standard of living. There is a connection between that and energy, but it is hidden. The Carter administration is using the energy policy as a screen to develop certain economic and social policies. Why? The economic and political policies implied in the Carter plan are so unacceptable that they have to be hidden. It represents the biggest intensification of control of the economy of the U.S. by big corporations that we have seen in our lifetimes. It will put an increased burden on the poor, and it will do that with dangerous political ideas. The Carter energy plan is a very serious political Trojan horse."

Commoner's analysis of the statistical projections of the Carter plan reveals a picture of the future far different from the verbal promises of the President. The figures show drastic shifts between now and 1985 of new energy supplies to industry at the expense of the consumer, of national income into capital for the major energy corporations, of economic activity toward more capital-intensive industries that provide few jobs, and—ultimately perhaps most serious—of national direction in the search for renewable energy toward nuclear power.

Carter's energy plan "mandates that the price of all energy will rise as rapidly as possible to the world oil price, which is the highest price," Commoner said. That will worsen inflation, thus eroding the living standards of lower-income people most and making business investment difficult and unpredictable, he said.

Although Carter claims that rising prices, along with other measures in the plan, will promote conservation, Commoner points out that only 16 percent of the increase in energy demands between now and 1985 will be met by conservation, according to statistics in the National Energy Plan. Most of the conservation measures are aimed at saving energy used in transportation, which now accounts for 26 percent of the annual energy budget. But Commoner said that the plan will only save 2.7 percent of the transportation energy. "It has an elaborate, intensive structure to accomplish very little," he said. "Mass transit is the most effective way to save energy in the United States. Rebuild the railroads." Carter's plan provides nothing for mass transit.



Lionel Delvingne

Commoner says 'conservation' really redistributes wealth

Presidential disclaimers notwithstanding, the National Energy Plan relies more heavily on nuclear power than on conservation. Of new energy needs 23 percent will be met by nuclear power. Although Carter mandates higher oil prices, the plan's figures do not assume that domestic oil production will go up.

Where will the money go that is collected through higher oil prices? Carter has promised rebates to consumers, but Commoner suspects that much of the proposed rebate would actually go to the energy

companies through government underwriting of new coal-fired or nuclear powered electrical generating plants.

The increased dependence on coal and nuclear power in the plan implies a shift away from using fuels for direct heat applications toward production of electricity, which is far less fuel efficient. Now 45 percent of the energy budget is burned for direct heat and 28 percent produces electricity, but the Carter plan, Common-

Continued on page 20.

British takes sides as strike snowballs

By Mervyn Jones

LONDON—A strike in a small London factory, with backstreet premises and 400 workers, has snowballed by degrees into a sensational but also serious factor in the British political scene.

Last week, 12,000 pickets from around the country, including 19 Labor members of Parliament, joined the strikers in a day of solidarity. There were over 70 arrests.

The site was Grunwick Limited, the creation of George Ward, a self-made businessman of determined character and reactionary opinions. It processes photographic film—mostly the holiday snapshots of individual customers. In this type of business, success depends on speedy work to get an edge on competitors.

Almost all the employees are of Indian or Pakistani origin and more than half are women. Wages are low—about \$40 a week at a time when the national average male earnings ran to \$100. Overtime working is required at the boss's will, and employees are forbidden to take vacations in summer, when the factory is at its busiest.

Ward is strongly opposed to trade unions. In 1971 some workers joined a union and were summarily fired. In 1975 a more persistent effort was made to organize the factory; Ward responded by dismissing the 60 workers who had taken out union cards. The union concerned tried for a while to negotiate, and in August 1976 called a strike. Some workers walked out, but others were reluctant to forfeit their jobs at a time of heavy unemployment, which is indeed a grave matter for Asian women. Ward was able to continue

A strike in a small London factory brought 12,000 workers and 4,000 police to the picket line.

Conservatives rejoiced while Labor is fearful.

operating his business with a work-force of about 250.

Through a bitter winter, pickets had to watch their former workmates driving into Grunwick in hired buses. The strike didn't collapse, however, and the government's conciliation service ordered a ballot on the issue of union recognition. Ward refused to hold the ballot on his premises or supply home addresses, so the conciliators went ahead with balloting the workers who had struck; the natural result was a big majority for the union. Ward, not lacking in effrontery, is now suing the conciliation service for holding an improper ballot.

Other unions join.

Meanwhile, the union, which is a small one with meager resources in membership and money, decided to call on other sections of the labor movement for support, and especially to strengthen the picket line. From June 20, union members in large numbers—the peak was 2,000—appeared in the narrow, seedy street leading to the factory gate. They have been railwaymen, bus drivers, construction workers, dockers, printers, local government

employees, teachers, firemen. Inevitably the picket has also attracted students and people of all kinds sympathetic to the strike; it became, in fact, a daily demonstration.

British picketing law is vague and was framed in the days when scabs had to walk to work instead of being conveyed in buses. The provision that pickets may "verbally and peacefully" appeal to the scabs no longer fits realities. Mass picketing, with the aim of physically blocking buses or trucks, is a relatively new development. It was decisive in winning the miners' strikes of 1972 and 1974, and is viewed as an outrage by conservative opinion.

London police chiefs took the line that, in the name of keeping order, the police have a right to decide on the appropriate number of pickets and prevent people in excess of that number from getting near. In the crucial days following June 20, up to 800 police were deployed. The pickets were held back and the scab buses got through. However, each morning saw violent clashes. Dozens of policemen and pickets (or demonstrators) were injured. During the week almost 300 arrests

were made, including a radical Labor MP, Audrey Wise.

At the July 11 demonstration, 4,000 police were called out, but were unwilling to move the demonstrators away from the gates for fear of major violence. As it was, over 30 people were injured.

In the aftermath of this demonstration, the government is considering a change in the picketing law that would compel buses to stop and would give pickets the right to speak to scabs, but would limit the number of pickets.

Employment Secretary Albert Booth was meanwhile trying to get the dispute settled through mediation. The union agreed to accept the mediator's award. But Ward, after refusing for several days to even talk with Booth, said that he would not be bound by the mediator's conclusions unless they suited him, and would in no circumstances reinstate the dismissed workers.

The mediation attempt has now been called off, and Booth has appointed a court of inquiry composed of a High Court judge, a business executive, and a union leader. Traditionally in Britain the decisions of these courts are accepted, but it's considered not impossible that Ward will remain defiant. In any case, the court will take some weeks to conduct its investigation and hear witnesses.

Postal boycott.

The picketing is to continue. Ward undoubtedly has his back to the wall, with his workforce reduced to about 100. Also, postmen in the nearby sorting offices have

Continued on page 10.

STUDENT PROTEST

Kent State demonstrators arrested

194 demonstrators wouldn't leave the site of the 1970 killings until the university dropped its plans to build a gym there. The police were called.

KENT, OHIO—The meeting was in its fourth hour. The 200 Kent State students and ex-students, faculty, and concerned outsiders had pledged to resist university plans to erect a gymnasium annex on the site of the May 4, 1970, massacre that put the Ohio college on the map. They had been occupying the site since May 12.

Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic, who lost the use of a leg in combat, asked for the floor. "Over the past two months I've become a friend of everyone here," he cried hoarsely from his wheelchair. "And when they come here to take you away, I'm going to be right in the middle of you as you lock arms on this hill. The whole world will be watching, and I hope every one of you decides to stay here with us and get arrested."

Some voices started to belt out: "The people united will never be defeated!" All present joined hands, others picked up the chant that echoed off nearby campus buildings as the circle of humanity spread to cover the hillside.

On July 12, after a county judge had granted the university's request for an injunction against the protestors, police moved in to remove and arrest 194.

The occupation began when about 100 students, organized into the May 4th coalition, began camping on the hill. "Like a lot of people, I was upset about the gym, but it looked like the only way to fight it was through mass pressure," May 4th member Nancy Grimm told *IN THESE TIMES*.

Earlier student and faculty pressure had failed to change the plans of university



president Glenn A. Olds and the university trustees. A student poll had shown 70 percent of Kent State students in favor of keeping the site as a memorial to the 1970 shootings.

Among those who joined the demonstrators and were subsequently arrested were the parents of Sandra Scheuer and Alan Canfora. Scheuer was killed and Canfora wounded in 1970.

Along with an injunction removing the demonstrators, Judge Joseph R. Kaid also granted an injunction temporarily blocking university construction of the gym. On July 21, a final hearing on the issue will be held, and a decision is expected the next day.

On July 13, the protestors, who had been released on \$250 bail, met to plan further actions. They want to organize a

nationwide demonstration on the day of the Judge's decision.

Contributions to the legal defense can be sent to Kent Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 366, Kent, Ohio, 44240.

Bob Datz, a Cleveland freelance writer, was a freshman at Kent State in 1970. He was also among the 194 arrested last week.

SAN FRANCISCO—The union said it was neither a wildcat nor a sick-out. But the fact remains that on Friday, July 8, 199 operators of the electronically controlled Bay Area Rapid Transit system (BART) trains, unexpectedly failed to show up for work, causing a monumental traffic jam and a lot of bad feeling against the workers.

The job action came as a result of BART Management's decision to "experiment" for a day with the elimination of one of six positions at the system's central controls in Oakland. The union, Local 1555 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, is insisting that Friday's walkout was triggered not by concern for one lost job, but by the issue of passenger safety.

"It was the straw that broke the camel's back," claimed one operator, referring to BART's latest attempt to cut costs, which are now running at more than five times what they were originally planned to be. Other workers complained of inadequate work conditions, shoddy, dirty equipment and an unresponsive BART administration. "They don't give us enough people to run the thing right," complained a worker.

Joe Grima, president of Local 1555 says that if BART wants to cut costs, it should start at the middle management level. And Peter Straus, a Transit Planner for the San Francisco Municipal Railway system criticizes BART for being "labor intensive at the middle management level."

"Those turkeys," says Grima, of the BART bureaucrats, "don't have their roots in this community. They get their MBAs from Harvard and they go to

work for the highest bidder. They don't give a damn about the people."

The Union, however, has been officially criticized for its job action, which is illegal because the contract between BART and the union specifically stipulates that there be no slow-downs and that all disputes be put to arbitration.

The California Public Utilities Commission, the state agency responsible for overseeing the safety of the transit system, has criticized both Local 1555 and BART. The Union acted illegally, it charges, and BART went against a PUC order that management get all personnel changes approved by the commission. The commission is presently looking into the possible dangers involved in doing away with the one crucial position at central controls.

In the meantime, on an "experimental" basis, BART is using only five people to operate the controls, while a sixth is paid to sit idly by, in case of an emergency.

According to Marc Vanocur, Manager of the Rapid Transit Systems of the PUC, there is a "minor emergency" almost every day. Vanocur told *IN THESE TIMES* that it was very possible that in the case of a "major emergency" five people would not be adequate to cover. There has never, he says, been a major emer-

gency. The Commission will determine, within the next few weeks, whether five people can handle the almost daily minor emergencies.

Fewer trains, higher costs.

This is not the first time the safety of the highly publicized transit system has been in question. According to critics of BART the system has failed to keep almost all of the promises it made to Bay Area voters ten years ago. BART is presently suing the Westinghouse Corporation, one of two corporations who designed the highly flawed system, because the rail adhesion on the trains apparently keeps the trains from being able to stop quickly enough.

Because the trains don't stop, the system is obliged to run fewer trains with more time between trains. Because there are fewer trains, fewer people are served and BART costs more.

Melvin Webber, a transit planner for the University of California at Berkeley, has written a sharply critical study of BART. BART does not, charges Webber, cut down on highway congestion, as it promised. The major tie-ups that resulted when the trains didn't run don't mean a thing, Webber told *IN THESE TIMES*. "You take an already congested

roadway, you add 50 cars, you're going to have a major tie-up."

It's Webber's feeling that BART isn't really a rapid transit system at all, but is more like a commuter railway. It's designed to service affluent commuters who take it to their jobs in downtown San Francisco; it doesn't run on weekends and doesn't go where people live. Planner Peter Straus charges that it is virtually useless for most San Franciscans. Because of a complicated and unresponsive transfer system, Straus charges, the San Francisco Municipal Railway is obligated to duplicate BART services. "It takes 14 steps to execute a BART-Muni transfer," says Straus. City Planner Chester Hartman says that BART is so difficult to use the poor are frightened away. According to Webber, however, the poor pay a disproportionate amount of their incomes to support the system, which is partially financed by an increased local sales tax.

Nevertheless, despite inadequate service and excessive cost, the Union walkout was resented by BART patrons and by the local press, who described the tie-ups in lurid details which included overheated cars going up in flames. It is possible, Joe Grima speculates, that the workers' action will serve to augment the growing anti-labor sentiments in the Bay Area. In a region that was once decidedly pro-union, voters in recent years have turned on government workers, indicating they blame them for local ills.

The public, it appears, was not overly appreciative of the BART workers' concern for its safety.

Louise Billotte is a freelance writer in San Francisco.

TRANSPORTATION

BART strikes unmasks mass transit miracle

POLITICS

By Alan Ehrenhalt
Congressional Quarterly

WASHINGTON 1976 was a disastrous year for the Republican party. Their "76 in '76" promotional campaign, in which they vowed to take over the House of Representatives, failed miserably. In the end they lost two seats, leaving them with only one-third of the House membership. They fared no better in the Senate, where they count 38 of the 100 senators. For many observers, the '76 election marked the beginning of the end for the GOP.

Top Republican leaders, however, disagree. They believe that 1978 will present a new situation and are looking for ways to exploit it. They spent much of the past winter analyzing how things could possibly have gone so far wrong in '76—and how they might do them differently next time.

The incumbency factor.

As GOP leaders now see it, the essential Republican fallacy in 1976 was the assumption that the party's candidates would regain the 10 percentage points they lost in many marginal districts in 1974. Most of these votes did not come back in 1976, and the reason, GOP analysts say, was incumbency.

There is no solid estimate of the dollar value of incumbency to a candidate running for Congress. It is generally agreed that the mailing frank, the constituent service and promotional operation, the government-funded trips back home and other perquisites of the job are worth at least \$200,000. Some estimates have placed it much higher.

Most of the Democratic Republican House strategists targeted in 1976 were under 40, energetic and single-minded in their determination to stay in the House. They knew how to take advantage of congressional perquisites, many of which were expanded by Democratic leaders specifically for the purpose of keeping newcomers in office.

As a result, Republicans are not looking to the junior Democrats as their prime 1978 targets. "We'll lose more of those districts than we were two years ago," Steven Stockmeyer, executive director of the Republican Congressional Committee, said.

What Republicans will look for is the veteran member who is getting on in years, not particularly visible at home and rusty on his constituent service. These representatives have been the most frequent incumbent losers in recent years.

The Republican Congressional Committee is already using the tangible measures of constituent service, such as trips home and use of the frank, to see which democrats to target in 1978.

Into the primaries.

The other move Republicans want to make is into selected primaries for the first time. The old California commandment not to speak ill of any fellow-Republican has kept the party out of primaries in most states in the past. But Republican National Chairman Bill French insists that the party has no choice but to intervene in favor of candidates it thinks can win in November. House Republican leader John J. Rhodes (Ariz.) has been quoted as saying flatly that "we get too many turkeys" as Republican congressional nominees.

In 1976, the Republican Congressional Committee tried to win on the issue of a wasteful and unproductive Congress. Candidates ran against Democratic control of the institution and urged that they be elected to bring the House and Senate one step closer to Republican leadership.

It was not a successful tactic. As has happened often in recent years, Democrats reacted by separating themselves from the institution, arguing that they were doing their jobs even if Congress as a whole was not. Voters accepted that.

As a result, there is a school of thought within the GOP that argues against any such "theme" for 1978, insisting that each candidate should find his own issue and resist the temptation of running against Carter.

"The best strategy is to avoid a national strategy," said Eddie Mahe, until recently the GOP executive director. "We will have no alternative but to assume that

The Republicans: bouncing back after '76 defeat



John J. Rhodes (R-Ariz.), House minority leader.

Some Republicans fear that the party label is now part of the problem and that new tactics alone will not solve the problems.

Jimmy Carter will be popular in 1978. If that's the case, the only way we can't win is to try to run a national referendum on the Carter administration."

Lurking behind these new ideas, however, is the fear among some Republicans that the party label itself is now part of the problem, and that new tactics alone may not contribute much to solving it.

Some strategists are quite candid about that. "It is true," one of them conceded. "A guy starts with a Republican label, he starts somewhere in the hole. If you look at the last 10 or 15 years, the guys that de-emphasize the party label do better in most sections of the country."

The new right connection.

It is the issue of the Republican party's future that divides the GOP congressional strategists from the "new right" bloc that has become an important force in congressional campaigns.

The new right group, led by fund-raising specialist Richard Viguerie, is likely to be the leading source of money and

expertise for GOP candidates in 1978. But Viguerie and his allies continue to insist that the Republican party as an institution is barely worth saving.

There is still little public awareness of the importance of the new right, even though it raised \$3 million during the 1976 congressional contests and was instrumental to Republican success in the two recent House elections. Next year Viguerie has promised to raise several times that much money, work in up to 250 congressional districts and build a polling and media apparatus to go with his specialty, direct mail.

Viguerie's boastfulness is worth taking seriously. Political professionals take it seriously. Said Eddie Mahe: "If you ranked political institutions in this country, organized labor would be first. The Democratic party is second. The Republican party is third. The Viguerie network is unquestionably fourth."

The "network" consists of Viguerie's own direct-mail firm, which bears his name; the priceless computerized mail-

ing lists he has built up in more than a decade of working for conservative candidates, and the political action groups which do their own fund-raising and contributing with Viguerie's lists and expertise.

This is an obvious bonanza for Republican candidates. But it will be a problem for the Republican party itself. The Viguerie groups will work with the GOP only in order to move it to the right. They are not interested in the party label.

"The Republican party will have to have a definite right-of-center image," Viguerie said, or it will forfeit new right support. "If it wants to please Jacob Javits as much as Jesse Helms, it will be doomed to failure. It will have to become a conservative vehicle, or it will die."

Candidate competition.

In some primaries next year, the Republican National Committee will likely find itself backing moderate candidates against the opposition of the Viguerie network. In others, it will be tempted to accept the candidate further right in order to keep the conservative money flowing.

But it remains to be seen how close the party and the conservatives can work in a climate where they have clearly different goals.

Ideology is not the only source of potential conflict. Conservatives complain the national Republican strategists are too willing to run campaigns through local GOP officials—even if those officials have a record of losing in the past. They point to Indiana's 4th Congressional District, where Republican Dan Quayle ran in 1976 against veteran Democratic Rep. J. Edward Roush.

Quayle, nominated for the House because more prominent Republicans declined to run, found the local GOP organization relatively cool to him. Some party regulars privately felt comfortable with Roush.

Quayle, using a considerable amount of money and help from the Viguerie-linked Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress, built an independent organization and won. New right spokesmen cite that race as an example of Republican flabbiness and their own potential.

But it is also a trouble spot. Where local GOP organizations are weak or unresponsive, conservative strategists will be trying to persuade candidates to work around them. Party officials in Washington may not be able to go along with that.

Black, the national committee's campaign director, insisted that serious conflict can be avoided. "If a candidate can do better by putting together his own organization," he said, "he ought to do it. We're not well organized in every district in the country. I would hope that if he puts one together it eventually becomes the Republican organization."

The Kasten targeting plan.

The Viguerie conservatives are also unrestrained in their enthusiasm for the Kasten plan, a campaign system developed in 1974 by Robert Kasten, who was elected to the House from Wisconsin that year.

Many of the elements of the plan had been used by others before Kasten, notably liberal Rep. Robert F. Drinan (D-Mass.) in his first House campaign in 1970. Essentially it is a targeting system. Campaign workers seek to identify and categorize potential voters by the degree of their support, and then concentrate on building up the turnout among people regarded as friendly. There is no effort to build a high overall turnout.

Targeting systems like the Kasten plan can probably be used more effectively in 1978 when there is no presidential contest to worry about. What emerges from conversations with Republican leaders is a consensus that no one strategy or technique promoted from Washington will bring the party back to power until the organization is rebuilt at the grass roots level. Watergate was disastrous to Republican morale, fund raising and candidate recruitment throughout the country.

"We took too much for granted when we had the White House for eight years," Black said. "We didn't do too much to keep the local base operating. Now we've got to turn around and start putting the whole thing together again."

POSTAL FOLLIES

FIRST IN A SERIES OF FOUR

The post office: 'a microcosm of American society'

A report by an
ex-postal worker of
the joy and misery
of his six years
on the job.

By Lawrence Swaim

In 1966 I was a young man with no skills and a growing family. The Vietnam war was escalating, and the Post Office desperately needed clerks to work the military mail that passed through the west coast. I passed a civil service examination and was hired, working mainly at Rincon Annex (a large postal facility in San Francisco) from 1966 to 1974. During that time I was active in a variety of capacities in Local 2, United Federation of Postal Clerks (AFL-CIO), including vice-president and chairman of the shop stewards' council.

About 2,000 people, mostly clerks, worked at Rincon Annex on three shifts (called tours) around the clock, with most on the two night shifts. Because of discrimination in the private sector, women and minorities were well represented at Rincon. So were seniors, including ex-servicemen, those forcibly retired from other jobs or "unemployable" elsewhere because of age. There were quite a few Vietnam vets, most of whom maintained a low profile. During the 1966-1969 period Rincon was flooded with hundreds of upper-middle-class hip and New Left types, many of whom flaunted their Che Guevara buttons, talked of revolution and complained endlessly, but none of whom became active in a union. Those active in unions were a fairly heterogeneous group, but many of the most active members were frequently family people in their 20s

and 30s, mainly career-oriented, and tended to come from working-class and rural backgrounds. The executive board of my 1800-member local had a solid majority of Blacks and other national minorities, and at several points a majority of women as well. I was first elected to union office on a reform slate fielded by the shop stewards council, around which the younger and more militant membership had grouped itself. Many of the young family people who came into the Post Office about the time I did decided to stay in after the wage increase following the 1970 strike, and are now active in the local leadership of the union and in lower management.

Life in the Postal Service.

From the beginning, Rincon Annex struck me as not just a microcosm of American society, but a frightening image of what the country was becoming—a harsh, cynical, authoritarian jungle where trust, courtesy and cooperation were seen as unforgivable weaknesses. Union people, convinced they were bugged, refused to use the telephones (this fear extended to the top leadership). Postal Inspectors spied on employees from enclosed catwalks that covered every square foot of the workroom floor, including the restrooms (but not the offices used by management). Foremen were rude as a matter of course, but employees could be suspended or terminated for abusive language. The work was incredibly boring, and people sitting next to each other were frequently not allowed to talk. A military atmosphere prevailed: Armed guards raided lockers and checked purses and lunchbuckets for bombs and "contraband." Clerks had to obey any direct order or be suspended. A foreman could terminate a conversation with a union officer at any time by simply ordering that person back to work. Anyone deemed disruptive by a supervisor



could be ejected from the building by armed guards (two of my shop stewards were booted out while arguing union grievances). Clerks without seniority could be assigned to any tour without reference to that clerk's outside activities. And since 1967, when the first elements of the newer postal technology were introduced at Rincon Annex, employees have been subjected to an intolerable noise level caused by the machines.

Boredom.

The worst and most relentless enemy of the postal clerk is boredom. Whether a machine operator or, like the majority, a sorter, sitting before a metal lettercase sticking letters in pigeonholes for eight hours, clerks experience ceaseless, never-ending repetition. Furthermore, the employee is informed in a variety of ways that there is no way to modify the operation or environment. The result is a great deal of alcoholism. Gambling was also very popular. Several gambling networks exist at Rincon at any given time, although none are mob-controlled as far as I know. Drug use and abuse were also common. Intense boredom can also result in a variety of hostile and apparently irrational acts (fights in bars, attacks on co-workers, hysteria, etc.). Alcoholism, however, remains the worst problem—enough so that the Postal Service has developed its own rehabilitative program, called PAR. Not surprisingly, discussion of working conditions at its AA-type meetings is strongly discouraged.

But perhaps most harmful, both to the postal patron and ultimately to the self-esteem of the postal clerk, is the lowering of work performance that the sense of helplessness and boredom brings about. This has been referred to by some industrial psychologists as "unconscious sabotage." The modern worker caught in this syndrome believes in the work ethic and wants to do a good job, but feels uncompensated by the work itself and experiences a rising anger at the employer, which he represses. This hostility then expresses itself as poor work of which the

employee is partially or completely unaware. I once saw a clerk reprimanded by a foreman, and observed this same man, after returning to his stool, case letters into his lettercase with an error rate of about 50 percent. When I pointed out the errors to him, he said he was aware of them and was shocked by them.

The union.

Anyone active in the union was reminded every so often that striking or inciting to strike could result in up to five years imprisonment.

Perhaps most demoralizing of all was the fact that even when one left work one was not necessarily free from surveillance. While I worked at Rincon Annex a number of homosexuals were forced to resign because the Postal Inspectors found their homosexuality incompatible with employment at the Post Office (one was reinstated through the efforts of the union, another sued for damages and won). And the Inspectors were in constant touch with other governmental investigative and intelligence agencies. I once represented a young woman whom the Inspectors wanted to terminate because they had found out from Naval Intelligence that she had once taken LSD with her boyfriend, who was a sailor (she resigned under pressure, afraid any resistance would land her boyfriend in the brig). For my union activities (and apparently also because I was known to be a socialist), I was treated to a six-week-long full field investigation by the FBI and occasional harassment by the Postal Inspectors, who had informers in the union and were in relatively close contact with management. In one particularly brazen episode, I was asked by the Inspector-in-Charge—with whom I had arranged a meeting to complain about the increasingly obvious surveillance—if I would mind coming in regularly to report on internal union affairs. I declined. The harassment continued.

Lawrence Swaim is a former postal worker and leader of the Postal Clerks union. He is author of *Waiting for the Earthquake*.

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LABOR

Wisconsin strike: a new departure for public workers

State workers in Wisconsin, birthplace of public employee unionism in the '30s, are making history again with the nation's first statewide public employee strike. The vast majority of the 24,000 members of the Wisconsin State Employee Union walked out on an illegal strike on July 3, demanding pay increases to match salary hikes granted earlier to professional and administrative workers and other contract improvements.

As in *THESE TIMES* went to press, a federal mediator was arriving on the scene. Union representatives, who had pressured for a federal replacement of the state mediator, described as "simply a messenger for the Governor," were hopeful that a settlement would be reached soon.

A solid core of 16,000 to 17,500 of the state workers, including clerks, secretaries, prison guards, mental institution attendants, some university staff and other white- and blue-collar workers, have honored the strike, according to the union. At first, only a fifth of the state troopers represented by the state branch of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees joined the strike, but by last week half were out. At the beginning of the second week of the strike, a few workers trickled back to work. At one mental health center, eight of the 11 strike-breakers wore bags over their heads as they returned to their jobs.

National guardsmen have been brought into prisons and other institutions and professional employees are trying to operate some agencies, but many vehicle registration offices, employment offices and drivers license centers have been virtually closed.

Below poverty level.

Earlier this year the state granted the 21,000 administrators, supervisors and professional employees wage increases of 68 cents an hour for 1977 and 78 cents an hour for 1978. That amounted to an average of 7 and 7.5 percent increases, costing the state \$74 million. Then the state offered the WSEU employees an increase of 20 cents an hour with a maximum of \$38 million for their wage package. The union demanded first and second year

Wisconsin's new governor, Martin Schreiber, struck a pro-labor pose in his '76 campaign, but he is now appealing to conservatives by standing firm against the strikers. The strikers remain determined, but economic pressures may sap their resolve.

pay increases identical to the professional employees but have since lowered their demands to 8.5 percent (53 cents) the first year and 9 percent (61 cents) the second year. The state has raised its offer from 2 percent to 7 and 7.5 percent for the two years.

The union also wants to initiate a cost-of-living agreement and a provision for automatic progressions for employees once a year.

"Our members average \$4.73 an hour. Many clerical workers earn less than \$10,000 a year while top management makes \$20-30,000," AFSCME spokesman Charles V. Brown said. "The key issue is the equitable distribution of tax money. This is a very unusual state. There's a budget surplus this year of \$150 million by conservative estimates. The state is not pleading poverty."

Many state employees do plead poverty. During the period of 1971 to 1975, with wage freezes and rapid inflation, state workers fell especially far behind. Even now an estimated 56 percent of the WSEU members earn less than the low-budget standard of living for a family of four established by the Department of Labor.



Strikers outside Governor Schreiber's inaugural celebration.

Bruce Fritz

Over a third of the clerical workers earn below poverty level for a family of four.

Besides offering a modest salary increase and originally telling the union that they could divide up the \$38 million allocation any way they wanted but not increase it, the state wanted to take away benefits won two years ago by the union. The state proposed dropping time off with pay for education, increasing employees' shares of insurance and reducing the number of union stewards.

Governor appeals to conservatives.

During the strike, Lt. Gov. Martin Schreiber moved up to the governor's office, replacing Patrick Lucey, sent by President Carter as ambassador to Mexico. Schreiber had struck a pro-labor pose in his campaign. Some observers feel he is now trying to shed that image in order to capture support from more conservative voters for his re-election bid in 1978. However, 300 striking workers reminded him of his earlier positions by turning away many luminaries invited to the new Governor's inaugural ball on July 8. They picketed the festivities and chanted, "Don't celebrate, negotiate."

The union believes that it has kept to a minimum possible resentment of the strike as a blow against the public or the wards of the state. They have consistently offered to help out with any emergency if the state would go through the local unions to ask assistance.

The state has sought a temporary injunction and restraining order, but the union has pledged to stay out until the dispute is resolved through collective bargaining. "This thing is not going to be settled in the court," Brown, an international union representative speaking for the state union, said. "No \$60-an-hour state lawyer is going to stop this strike."

The 24-hour picket lines around the office buildings and institutions remained vigilant at the end of last week, occasionally breaking into traditional union songs and a blunt chorus of "the state says lower your demands; we say, up yours." Economic pressures and aspirations of some workers to supervisory jobs, however, could still weaken the strikers' determination if the state decides to play it tough.

Thanks to Ian Harris in Milwaukee for some of the information used in this story.

—David Moberg

MILITARY

"The B-1 campaign taught us to hang in there"

Anti-B-1 veterans remain critical of Carter decision. There is still a long way to go.

Jimmy Carter's decision to ground the B-1 bomber two weeks ago was based on the strategic superiority and cheaper cost of the cruise missile. But it was a four year torrent of posters, mailings, press releases and leaflets that made the bomber a national issue and forced the decision to be made.

"If it hadn't been for our organized opposition, the Pentagon would have gotten both the B-1 and the missiles," says David Goodman, of American Friends Service Committee's National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC). AFSC co-sponsored the Stop the

B-1 Campaign with Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC). CALC's Kay Halvorson says, however, that Carter's commitment to the dangerous cruise missile and immediate layoffs of as many as 20,000 B-1 workers tempered the group's joy.

Veterans of struggles to halt weapons production during the Vietnam war era launched the campaign four years ago. Their goals were threefold: 1) stop B-1 production, 2) expose the links among corporations, the military and the government, and 3) build public support for "peace conversion." Peace conversion originally meant converting weapons industries for peaceful uses but by the campaign's end it had expanded to mean restructuring America's system to make this conversion possible.

With Carter's decision the first goal was achieved. The second and third goals were raised among the thousands of people the campaign reached directly and surfaced occasionally in the press coverage of such actions as confrontations at stockholders' meetings.

Military power unchanged.

In spite of the group's efforts, public debate was couched mostly in terms of relative merits of various weapons, not in terms of military spending vs. social spending. *Business Week* reports the power of the military-industrial corporations unchanged; only the players are different. "Now we can spread the wealth" among weapons contractors, says their Pentagon source, citing Boeing and General Dynamics as corporate winners. They stand to reap huge profits building cruise missiles (at \$750,000 to \$1 million apiece) and by adapting aircraft to carry them.

Although the campaign also reached thousands of people with its peace conversion plan, no headway was made in putting the plan into practice. The main legislative effort was Rep. Jonathan Bingham's (D-NY) introduction of a bill to provide supplementary unemployment benefits at 90 percent of average pay, retraining and relocation allowances and continuation of health and pension coverage for all displaced B-1 workers. The

bill got nowhere, and few B-1 workers ever heard of it.

Savings could supply jobs.

The campaign pointed out that spending the B-1 money on health, education and housing would double the number of jobs created. But it's unlikely that B-1 savings will go for such social purposes. Instead, according to *Business Week*, some funds will be used to develop "conventional areas such as armor, tactical fighters, anti-tank weapons and troop and cargo transports." The rest won't be spent at all but will go toward Carter's goal of a balanced budget by 1980.

B-1 activists plan to bring their experience to new military struggles. As Kay Halvorson says, "The B-1 Campaign taught us a lesson about hanging in there, about making conscious decisions, about developing a strategy and seeing it through."

Thanks to Marion Barnes of CALC and Stefan Ostrach of NARMIC for information used in this article.

IN THE WORLD



Behind 'tough line' on Africa

Despite surface disenchantment of white South Africans with the U.S. stance, the Carter/Young policies leave Vorster room to maneuver.

By Robert A. Manning
Carter administration critics have charged that the new administration is long on style and short on substance. As the administration spells out its Africa policy, a reading of its policy statements suggest that critics may be right.

Despite the media circus surrounding Andy Young's role as "point man," close inspection of the views expressed by Young during his recent South Africa trip, Vice President Walter Mondale's meeting with South African Premier Vorster, and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's July 1 speech on Southern Africa make good cause for skepticism.

There is little doubt that American opposition to South Africa has been both more vocal and consistent than the calculated ambiguities of Henry Kissinger. But the real question is whether the highly touted "tough line" on South Africa amounts to substantial opposition to the Vorster regime or merely a rap on the knuckles of apartheid. The evidence suggests that, despite the surface disenchantment of white South Africa with the American stance, Carter's policy leaves Vorster room to maneuver at home and to save face in Namibia, now illegally occupied by Pretoria.

No mention of "majority rule."

At his May meeting with Vorster, Mondale emphasized that "we hope the South Africans will not rely on any illusions that the U.S. will in the end intervene to save South Africa from the policies it is pursuing, for we will not do so."

Rejecting apartheid and "separate development" (which gives four million

whites 87 percent of the land and 20 million blacks 13 percent on designated "Bantustaan homelands" in the least fertile areas) Mondale said that the administration's view of an alternative is "full participation," socially and politically for all South Africans. This, Mondale explained, was the same as "one man, one vote."

In his July 1 speech to the NAACP convention in St. Louis, Vance reiterated these views, saying that the "specific form of government" that this "full participation" takes is "a matter for the people of South Africa to decide."

Observers have pointed out that the term "majority rule" was conspicuously absent in recent policy statements, although used earlier by the administration. This suggests that some variation on the theme of "federalism" contemplated in

some white African business and political circles may be acceptable to the U.S.

This "solution" would dismantle much of "petty apartheid"—the "white only" signs on restrooms and benches—granting limited rights to Africans in and around urban areas, and abandoning the plan of eight "independent" Bantustans following the course of the Transkei, for a federation of white South Africa with the Bantustans. This would leave effective political and economic control in white hands, though giving the appearance of some democracy.

Vorster moves right.

But Vorster has continued to drift to the right as the black rebellion deepens. Vorster continues to support the Bantustaan program explaining that, "South Africa is not multiracial, it is multinational."

Hence, blacks can only have rights in their "homeland."

During a recent publicity tour of the U.S. Pretoria's foreign minister Pik Botha flatly rejected American pressures stating, "We are not going to negotiate our suicide," and went so far as to say that the U.S. is trying to be "more radical than the Soviet Union" in Africa.

But Andy Young's comments in Johannesburg last May to white businessmen underscore that the U.S. is playing more the role of the loyal opposition to apartheid.

Carter and Young, seeking to export the civil rights movement to southern Africa clearly views a "reform from above" model as the hope for Vorster to get out of the political and economic quagmire. "My argument," said Young, "boils down to my conviction that the free market system can be the greatest force for constructive change now operating anywhere in the world." Young was blunt in explaining his version of "full participation": "The question is will there be a majority of black citizens who have a stake in the economic system? To assure that there will be four or five million blacks have to be brought into the system."

Given that there are about 20 million blacks, one may wonder what sort of "full participation" he had in mind.

No timetable for change.

The administration has also not given Vorster any timetable for "acceptable progress." Vance stated that U.S.-Pretoria "relations will suffer if no progress is made, but administration options fall short of turning the screws on Vorster."

These options could include withdrawing American military attaches, cutting intelligence links, limiting export-import loan guarantees to Pretoria and ending tax credits to American firms operating in South Africa.

The U.S. has continued to oppose the African call for a total economic and military boycott and embargo of South Africa and, largely through Andy Young's efforts, has successfully postponed the UN debate until September. By that time, American officials hope that there will be signs of movement by South Africa to

Continued on page 10.

If whites don't like Rhodesia, they can now try Bolivia

According to a document issued in Venezuela by exiled members of the Bolivian Revolutionary Movement (MIR), and circulated by the Spanish News Agency, a \$2 billion fund has been set up by the U.S., Britain, France and the Netherlands to bring displaced whites from South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia to Latin America. For the plan's first phase, involving 30,000 settler families of German and Dutch stock, Bolivian dictator Gen. Hugo Banzer is to receive \$157,000.

In confirmation of this, the MIR exiles presented a secret report of the Bolivian government detailing the migration plans. The MIR document recalls the UN condemnation's of South Africa's, Rhodesia's and Namibia's white-minority governments for their political, economic, social and cultural discrimination against black majorities. The demand for transfer of power to the blacks, recently backed by the U.S., has raised a critical question of what to do with the whites whom already-overpopulated Germany and the Netherlands won't accept.

Last November, the document adds, delegates of the Argentine, Brazilian, Bol-

ivian, Ecuadorean, Uruguayan and Venezuelan governments discussed the practical details of the plan at a secret meeting in Costa Rica. Venezuela is said to have declined to participate in the program emerging from that meeting. Brazil complained that participation would damage the relations it seeks to build with black African governments. Argentina balked because of its internal crisis, and Ecuador and Uruguay wanted time to decide.

For the moment Bolivia alone has agreed to accept the African colonialist migrants, and the first families are expected to arrive there in July. President Banzer, of German extraction, has repeatedly said that "special programs are necessary to improve our race" (predominantly Indian). To that end Banzer is "systematically limiting the growth of the indigenous population."

In Latin American countries not yet reached by the wave of neo-barbaric military dictatorship, which has engulfed the continent's Southern Cone, the white-supremacy migration plan has caused great alarm.

—Cedric Belfrage

FOREIGN POLICY

U.S. foreign policy elite

Council of Foreign Relations members have played a key role in U.S. policy.

IMPERIAL BRAIN TRUST: The Council on Foreign Relations and United States Foreign Policy

By Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter
Monthly Review Press, New York, 1977

In *Imperial Brain Trust* Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter have written an important book from which both scholars and the public can learn. They argue that the accepted view of "policy formation as [causally] dispersed among a wide variety of groups or elites," is incorrect and that they have shown "the leading role played by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) and the sector of society it represents, the corporate upper class."

They also argue that "the process itself is not only undemocratic, but the results have been and are against the interests of both the majority of the American people and the people of the world."

The authors show that CFR members

constitute the foreign policy "establishment" whether Democrats or Republicans are in the White House, that the CFR is linked to the "elite" universities and the private "think tanks" such as the Brookings Institution and the Rand Corporation, and that the CFR "is solidly based on the United States capitalist class and represents a conscious initiative of the dominant sector of that class, the New York financial oligarchy."

The research is excellent, but there are some faults, including rigid categorization, that would not only put off scholars, but also lead to negative reactions by readers hoping to become more informed.

Corporate leaders and democracy.

Shoup and Minter do conclusively prove, in my view, that the way in which the CFR short circuits the political system, including its efforts to manipulate ("educate") public opinion is profoundly undemocratic. But to leave the matter at that gives the impression that the executives of the large corporations that dominate the CFR are simply anti-democratic by conscious choice. In reality the situation is much more complex.

By the time World War I broke out, if not earlier, American rulers had come to the conclusion that great wars were caused by economic rivalry and that to avoid future wars industrial capitalist states would

have to make concessions to one another so as to bring about a widening of world markets sufficient to meet the market needs of all those states powerful enough to start wars. To obtain this end all would have to sacrifice their least efficient industries and agree to allow competitors to export their specialties.

But a study of American politics from 1900 to World War II would indicate that representative politics where small and medium size businesses have vetoes in Congress would not allow any real "reciprocal" concessions. "Bourgeois democracy" proved to be more and more inconsistent with the kind of negotiations and mutual concessions necessary to keep the peace in a corporate U.S. and world economy.

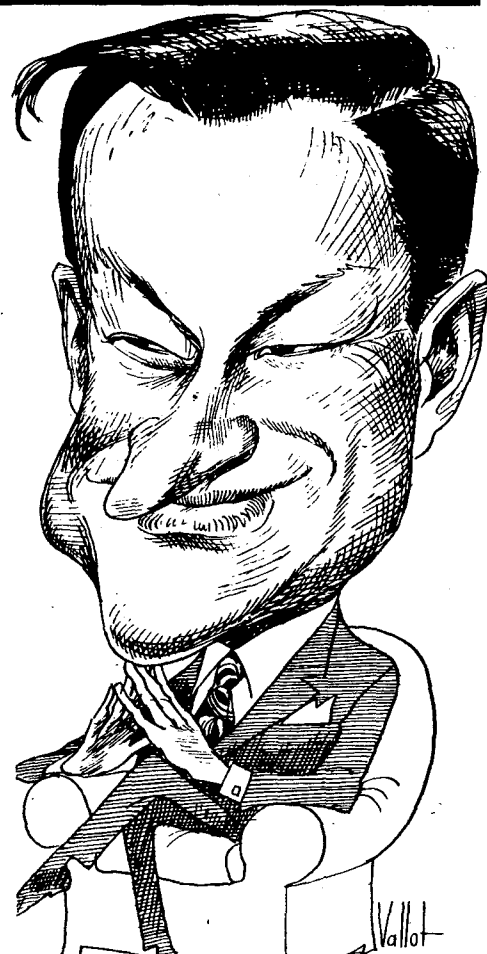
To ask corporate leaders not to short-circuit those representative institutions would be to ask them to drift into a new war without trying to avoid it. Most Americans, if given the choice of war because of economic competition or peace via short-circuiting congressional protectionism, would pick the latter.

Labor leaders and CIA.

The authors describe the "less than 1 percent" of CFR members who were labor leaders as including persons "prominent in the area of CIA subsidies to foreign labor leaders." But this is too simple an *ad hominem* argument. What we should know is not whether Leonard Woodcock and Jerry Wurf took CIA subsidies, but what their motivation was in participating in CFR affairs. The implication (perhaps unintended) is that their participation has something to do with the CIA.

It is more likely that they have participated because it is a way to gain some concessions for their members. It is equally possible that people like Woodcock and Wurf saw the CFR as an institution involved in planning mutual concessions among industrial capitalist states and that such concessions could help to avoid a war between the U.S. and the Common Market countries, or between the U.S. and Japan. Wurf and Woodcock might have seen the avoidance of war as "objectively" in the interest of their membership.

At any rate, good historical method dictates that (1) all reasonable possibilities be



Zbigniew Brzezinski, CFR member.

at least considered, if not accounted for, and (2) that an effort be made to examine the relevant sources: Woodcock and Wurf are alive and kicking. Shoup and Minter should have written them to ask why they participated in CFR activities.

That groups like the CFR may play a role in establishing rules, outlining concessions and pressing domestic interest groups to accept those rules and make those concessions necessary to peace among industrial capitalist countries is indirectly recognized by Shoup and Minter when they point out that the Trilateral Commission "represents an attempt by leading sectors of the ruling classes of these three areas [U.S., west Europe, and Japan] to reconcile their differences and create the conditions for a stable world capitalist economy." But for the most part that recognition does not condition their analysis.

These lapses tend to give the book a "muck-raking" quality that in turn detracts from the educational impact the book might have on the general public.

—Carl Parrini

Carl Parrini is professor of history at Northern Illinois University and author of *Heir to Empire*.

The Council of Foreign Relations

Since 1918 the Council of Foreign Relations has contributed many of the nation's policies and policymakers. Henry Kissinger, Dean Rusk, Dean Acheson, John Foster Dulles and Zbigniew Brzezinski all made their mark there. Both Eisenhower and Nixon were members and were influenced by CFR discussions.

The American break with protectionism in the 1930s, the post-World War II "reconstruction" of Europe (the Marshall Plan), America's role in Southeast Asia and the Nixon opening

toward China were all formulated, discussed and urged at CFR study groups in which the key policymakers participated along with members of New York's corporate/financial oligarchy.

Presently, the CFR is engaged in a 1980s project designed to outline policies for the U.S. for the next two decades. Among the 14 members of the original study groups were Carter administration members W. Michael Blumenthal, Marshall D. Shulman, Richard N. Cooper and Samuel P. Huntington.

Africa

Continued from page 9.

convince world opinion that the moderate "wrist-slapping" approach should be supported. Meanwhile, some 350 American companies continue operating in South Africa.

American economic support has been dampened by the deepening economic crisis in South Africa. South Africa faces a \$2 billion foreign debt, inflation is galloping along at 16 percent annually, over 1.5 million urban Africans are unemployed, and Pretoria's credit line (American banks loaned \$780 million to Pretoria in 1976) is exhausted. The net inflow of foreign funds to South Africa dropped from \$1.9 billion in 1975 to \$1 billion in 1976, and American investment has begun to dry up in the unstable environment.

This situation underscores the urgent need to develop a skilled black labor force and a black internal market if South Africa is to maintain a growing economy. Presently blacks who comprise some 80 percent of the work force receive only 10 percent of the national income. Raising black's economic condition would, however, require political change.

Arm-twisting on Namibia.

American-led arm-twisting has been slightly more successful on the Namibia issue, a country illegally colonized by South Africa. After several meetings between the "Big Five" Western nations (U.S., Britain, France, West Germany and Canada) and Pretoria, Vorster has

agreed to scrap his plan for "independent" rule by Namibian whites and hand-picked tribal leaders. But the Vorster compromise still falls far short of the solution desired by the UN and SWAPO, the liberation movement in Namibia.

Vorster has agreed to scrap the previously drawn up constitution and appoint an "administrator general" to run the territory until independence. He would be a South African judge empowered to set up the election of an assembly (which would include SWAPO) that would draw up a constitution. The administrator would have full control over the transition to independence.

This compromise still does not recognize UN jurisdiction over Namibia. Although UN Secretary General Waldheim would name a representative to supervise the election process, backed by a team of UN observers, Pretoria would maintain control over the process. The UN calls for free elections under "UN supervision and control," and the UN and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) recognize SWAPO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people."

Moreover, SWAPO calls for the withdrawal of South Africa's 50,000 troops from Namibia as a pre-condition for negotiations and also the release of political prisoners. Vorster insists on maintaining its troops "as long as a threat exists" to Namibia's security. Finally, Vorster has persisted in his claim that Walvis Bay, Namibia's key deep water port and vital economic artery is considered part and parcel of South Africa. Pretoria's control over Walvis Bay would mean continued economic domination.

Unless the West can push Vorster to

wards more concessions, SWAPO will likely prefer bullets to ballots. But the Namibia situation highlights the difficulty in the more than a year-old American efforts to "crisis manage" the deepening conflict in southern Africa and suggests that American aims and the goals of the liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa are in conflict despite the "new, improved" image of American policy.

This notion that what is at stake is not just civil rights but national liberation was touched on recently by Oliver Tambo, the leader of the African National Congress (ANC-SA), the leading liberation movement in South Africa. Discussing Andy Young, Tambo said, "When the enemy puts on your uniform, waves your flag and shouts your slogan, one must be very careful... We are not talking about entering theaters or riding buses. We want power transferred to the majority and the economy restructured to benefit them. Armed struggle is the only way to achieve this."

London

Continued from page 3.

blocked Grunwick mail, on which the business is obviously dependent. Already 70 sacks of mail are lying in a corner of the sorting office.

The refusal to deliver mail is undoubtedly contrary to law; that was decided in the case of the attempted boycott of South African mail. National leaders of the Union of Postal Workers, to safeguard them-

selves, have ordered the men to stop their action, but the local branch seems determined to carry on. The Post Office has threatened dismissals but hasn't yet put any into effect. They could result in a widespread walkout by London postmen.

Ward has been advised throughout by the National Association for Freedom, a militantly right-wing body that exists to combat "trade union dictatorship" and "mob rule," and especially to uphold the rights of the non-union worker and of the employer opposed to union recognition. Also constantly at Ward's side is John Gorst, a Tory MP representing the suburban district where Ward lives. What's significant is that Gorst has discussed the dispute with Mrs. Thatcher and other Tory leaders. These discussions haven't weakened the intransigent stand taken up by Gorst, and hence by Ward.

The unpalatable fact is that strikes always weaken the Labor party and bite into its middle-class electoral support. Battles between "mobs" and police, highlighted evening after evening on the TV news, have an even worse effect. It's easy to see that the Tories, hoping for an election this fall, will gain advantages if the Grunwick strike goes on and on and hostilities grow more bitter. Since many Liberal voters are also inclined to view trade unions with hostility, this could also help to divide the Liberals from Labour and extinguish the fragile pact on which the government depends.

Mervyn Jones writes for the *New Statesman* and recently published a book on Britain's offshore oil industry.

The Russians

The USSR abroad: internationalism put to the test

By Louis Menashe

Domestic developments and external realities form a powerful counterpoint in the life of all nations. In the USSR there has always been a special meaning to the internal-external nexus.

There is a lovely story about one of the first encounters between the representatives of the young Soviet republic and the capitalist states. Making good on their promise to pull Russia out of the imperialist war (World War I), the Bolsheviks sent a delegation to Paris. On the Polish-Russian frontier, in negotiate peace with the Germans and Austrians. Diplomatic protocol required Russian officers and Austro-Hungarian functionaries to swallow their repugnance at having to deal with these revolutionary ruffians, and a military guard escorted the train carrying the representatives of the Soviet workers and peasants state. Among them was Kari Radek, an Old Bolshevik known for his verve, who promptly distributed revolutionary proclamations among the enemy soldiers, encouraging them to overthrow their governments.

The Soviet Union is now a long, long way from that display of youthful revolutionary élan. It deals with the capitalist powers on equal terms now; it is very tactful in its diplomacy. But it still takes the trouble of asserting the intertwining of its state functions with the world socialist revolution.

The new draft Soviet constitution, a document defining internal political life, has an unusual section on external policy. Here are excerpts from articles 28 and 30:

"The foreign policy of the USSR shall be aimed at ensuring favorable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, at strengthening the position of world socialism, supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and

social progress, preventing wars of aggression and consistently implementing the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

"As part of the socialist world system, of the socialist community, the Soviet Union shall promote and strengthen friendship, co-operation and comradely mutual assistance with the other socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, and shall actively participate in economic integration and in the international socialist division of labor."

While the second paragraph reflects the immense changes in the world scene since the Bolshevik Revolution, the first reaffirms the original Bolshevik, or original Marxist sentiments. Capitalism had created a world system; the socialist challenge to it would necessarily be worldwide in scope, breaking out of national boundaries ("workers of the world unite!"). But in 1917, as now, giving socialism an international dimension from a national base, is a treacherously difficult business.

Effects of revolution.

The Bolshevik Revolution itself was seen by its makers as an international act that would help trigger socialist revolutions where they were supposed to have happened first, in the industrial-capitalist heartlands of Western and Central Europe. Without the assistance of such revolutions they thought that Soviet power, resting on a tiny working-class base amidst a huge, unfathomable peasantry, might never be able to hold out against internal counter-revolution and imperialist intervention.

But instead of setting off revolutionary explosions in the capitalist countries, the Bolsheviks incited the ferocity of their capitalist classes, expressed in military intervention during the Civil War, diplomatic non-recognition and attempts at eco-

nomie strangulation. Later, fascism would bare its teeth.

The Soviet Union did hold out, but it had to divert an enormous amount of its blood and wealth to resisting the power of the capitalist and fascist states. Today, with the U.S. brandishing its streamlined arsenal of Cruise missiles and neutron bombs, the USSR continues to support a huge military establishment it can ill afford.

Not only has this situation forced acute hardships on the Soviet people, it has also helped force a tragic untwining between Soviet state functions and the world revolution, or between Soviet development and the advance of democratic socialism.

Nationalism before internationalism

The more the Soviet state had to be concerned with the purely national functions of economic survival and defense, the less attuned might it be to its internationalist obligations, its commitment to helping the left in other countries. There are many examples of this skewing of priorities in the direction of Soviet nation-state interests. Imagine how a German communist might have felt when the Soviets signed a non-aggression pact with the Nazis in 1939. Or how a French communist feels today when Soviet party leader (now President) Brezhnev snubs the French Communist party while he gets along splendidly with President Giscard d'Estaing.

The more the Soviet Union was compelled to go it alone in the two decades following the revolution, and to go at it rapidly—forced-march industrialism and peasant collectivization, with the intent of building "Socialism in one country"—the more it relied on bureaucratic mobilization from above, on political terror, on patterns drawn from the Russian national tradition, including the tsar-like cult of Stalin or the canonization of official ideology by which all dissent and criticism became heretical.

The more Soviet socialism was disconnected from democracy the less attractive it became for people in the capitalist countries. Another boomerang: a kind of guilt by association—if socialism is what the Soviets practice, then we don't want it.

Role of Comintern.

Originally, Lenin and the Bolsheviks had an ingeniously simple, coaxial formula for working out the dilemmas of so-

cialist state power in an imperialist world. How could representatives of the Soviet state sit across the table from imperialist adversaries, seeking their trade and courting their non-bellicose sides, even as the Soviets and their comrades in the capitalist countries were anxious to destroy capitalism? The answer: the Soviet government would deal with the capitalist countries at the state level, observing all the diplomatic niceties, while the newly-created Communist International (Comintern), with its headquarters in Moscow, would serve as the world revolutionary instrument.

This arrangement worked out badly for the left. It was impossible for the Bolsheviks, heady with the prestige of being the first successful socialist revolutionaries, to keep from projecting their particular Soviet attitudes and concerns onto the foreign communists. The Bolsheviks thought they knew best about socialist revolution in England or Germany, better than the English or Germans.

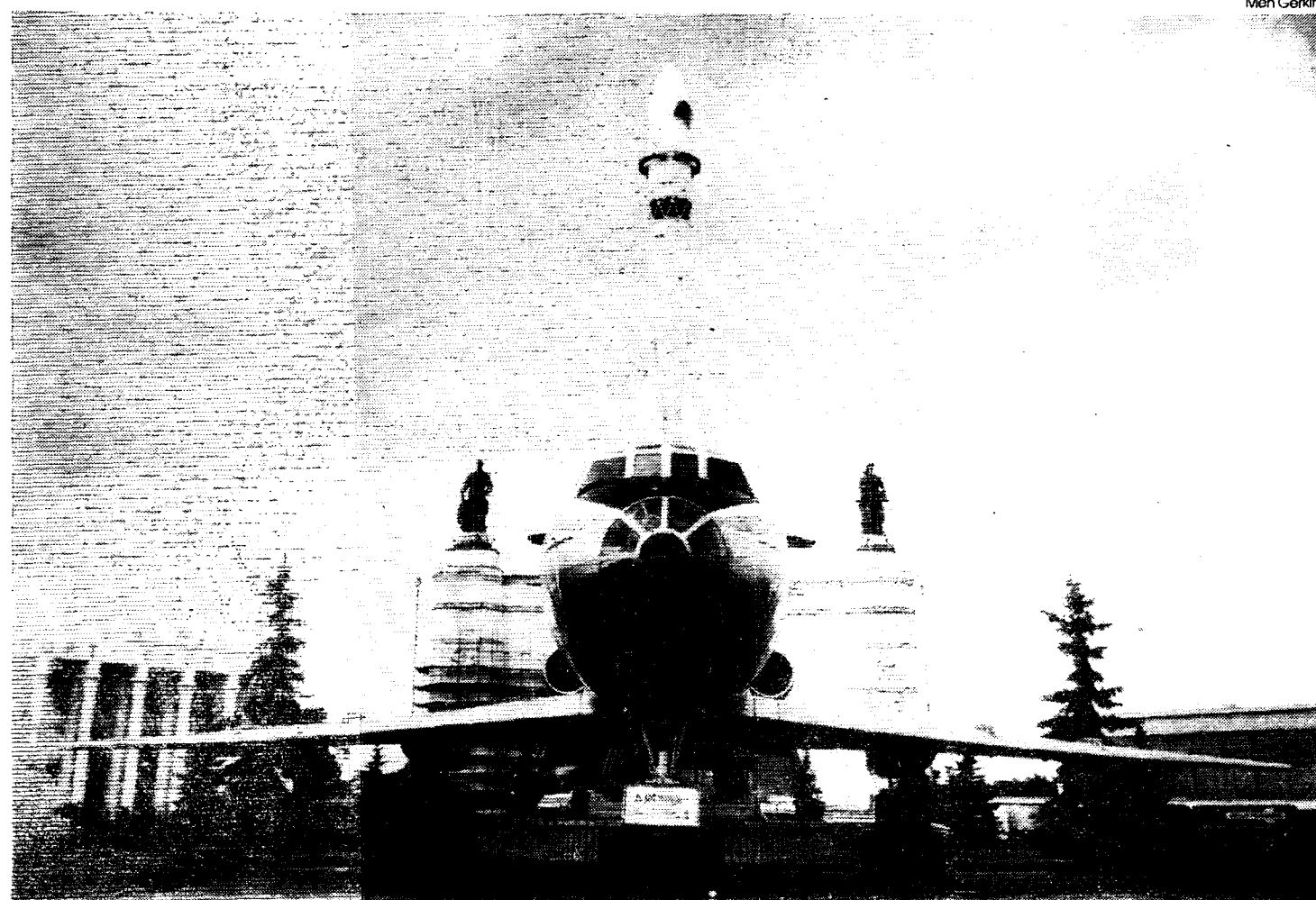
Moreover, the needs of the Soviet state began to overshadow whatever internationalist ideals were sponsored by the Comintern. "Proletarian internationalism" came to be re-defined according to the implicit axiom, "What's good for the Soviet Union is good for the world socialist movement."

Stalin made it explicit. In 1925 he described the "internationalist" as someone "who is unreservedly, unhesitatingly, and unconditionally ready to defend the USSR, because the USSR is the base of the world revolutionary movement and it is impossible to defend and advance this movement without defending the USSR." By 1943, this kind of internationalist was prepared to accept the dismantling of the Communist International itself. Stalin had ordered it as a sign of good faith to his British and American allies of World War II.

These issues involving the Soviet state and world socialism are percolating again today in dramatically novel forms, from Peking to Rome. The world has changed and so has the USSR. The internal-external nexus has to be re-explored.

Next week: New boomerangs—China, Eastern Europe, Detente and Eurocommunism.

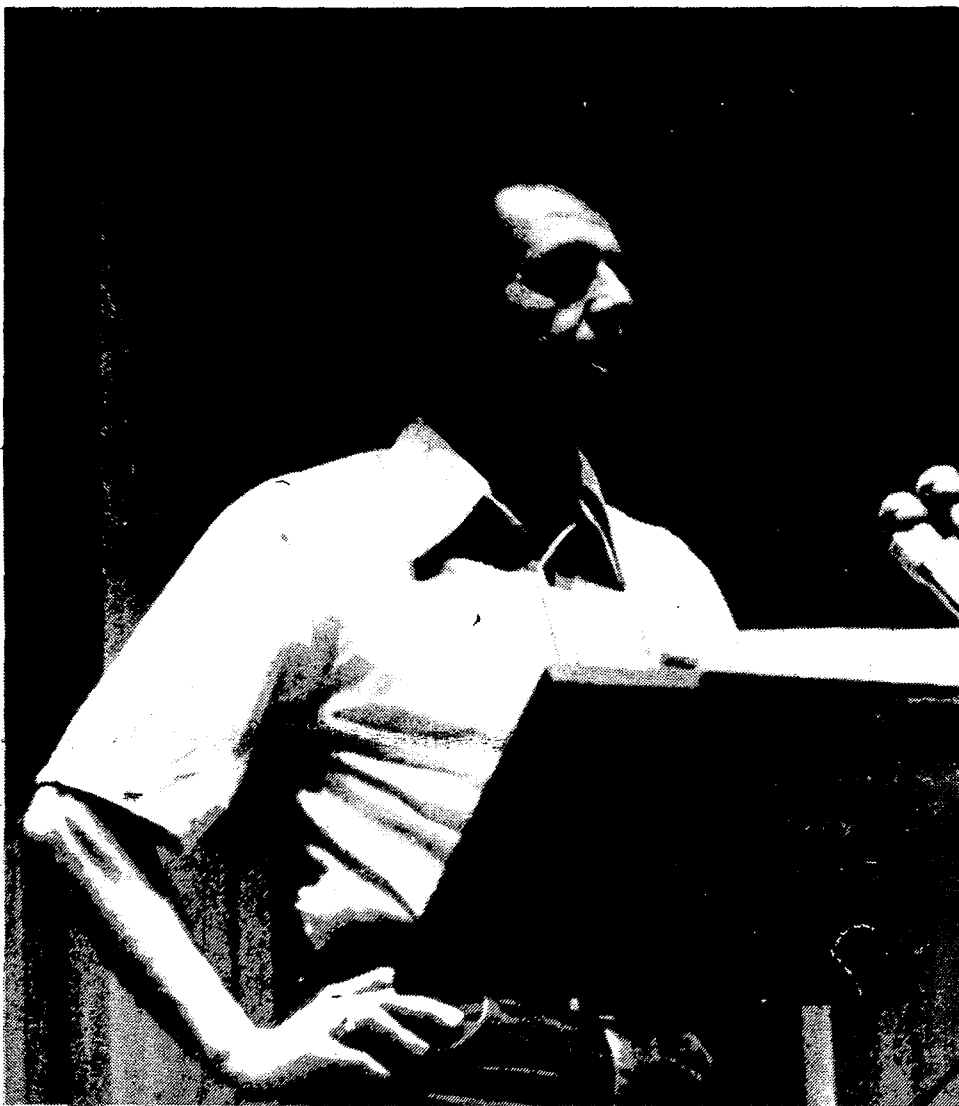
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The Soviet Union deals with capitalist powers on equal terms now; it is very tactful in its diplomacy. But it still takes the trouble to assert the connection between its interests and those of world socialist revolution...

Here's a great idea!

Now how do we win?



Nicholas Carbone, Hartford, Conn., City Council member.

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

DENVER—Up on the stage the three politicians, representatives of a new breed of progressives running for and often winning offices in local and state governments, were talking about the difficulties of putting together a base of supporters strong enough to propel leftist candidates into office.

Massachusetts State Representative Barney Frank, a charmingly cynical and slightly disheveled character whose campaign poster photo was captioned "neatness isn't everything," harshly advised that the electorate, left to its majoritarian dictates, would probably not support poor people and their needs.

Coloradoan Sam Brown, recently appointed director of ACTION, the federal agency in charge of VISTA and the Peace Corps, has had his share of both political successes, winning the state treasurer office, and defeats, losing eight out of ten voter initiatives last year in the state. He cautioned people not to expect to change people in the course of a campaign, and "to pick issues to build a base carefully before moving beyond people." Ruth Yannatta, a narrow loser in recent Democratic state assembly primary in California, recommended that economic issues were best for bridging disparate groups.

Then a woman from the audience earnestly posed a question that deeply troubled her. "How can you speak out on people issues without appearing anti-business?" she asked. The panelists responded, after a moment's hesitation, that you might be able to attack in some way if you were careful, and maybe even benefit from it.

It was not an unusual moment in the Third Annual Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policy, sponsored by a Washington-based group by the same name, which is associated with the Institute for Policy Studies. Despite the long and exciting lists of programs for reform at the city and state level—covering taxes, energy, land use, use of public funds, development and other nitty-gritty issues—there was frequently a diffuse and consequently confused sense of who "the enemy" was in the battle for a better America. Indeed, how is it possible to speak out on behalf of most people without appearing anti-business? Why not appear anti-business?

Among the 400-plus conference participants, who were mainly public officials, administrators, leftist policy intellectuals, community activists, electoral strategists and would-be officeholders, there was a diffuseness and confusion at times about who they represented. There was talk about the public, the poor, the powerless or the electorate as a constituency. People ticked off the various demographic particles—from under-thirties to senior citizens, from alternative lifestyles to ethnic blocs, or from students to traditional Democrats—that might be coalesced into a winning total on election day.

The traditional leftist ideas of social classes could have provided some useful guidance in thinking about building such coalitions, but there was only passing evidence that conference participants thought about their base of support in such terms.

Practical reforms.

The Conference on Alternative Public Policy has established itself sufficiently



Sam Brown, former Colorado treasurer, now ACTION director.

during the past two years that some of the tough questions about its direction, easily and happily ignored by supporters in its founding conventions, have begun to crop up with greater insistence. Touted originally as a gathering of former new leftists who were digging in for a "long march through the institutions" of society, of "radicals" who were training themselves to make concrete proposals and not just vague calls of "power to the people," the Conference has succeeded in drawing in many who are not veterans of the movements of the '60s. It has drafted or compiled in several thick, detailed and stimulating volumes an agenda of practical reforms that could ease a little more power and wealth into the hands of "the people" if enacted by local governments. Simply proving that the stuffy posts of county assessor, state treasurer, city personnel supervisor, city councilman or tax commissioner could become exciting levers for important social change was an accomplishment.

The heart of Conference activity has been development of legislative ideas for local initiative. One of its early proposals was the electric utility "lifeline" rate structure that guarantees electricity at low, stable rates for basic household needs. "Lifeline" campaigns have since started in over 15 states and succeeded in California. In the dozens of workshops held over the cool and sunny but drought-stricken Denver weekend, July 7-10, there were reports on ideas such as these:

- In Ohio the Public Interest Campaign, organized by Ira Arlook, has brought labor, church and community groups together in a statewide campaign to dampen the effects of runaway factories.

An intensified drive started last week to promote the proposal. It would require companies to give two years notice before moving or shutting down, to pay all workers severance pay equal to one week's pay for every year worked and to contribute 10 percent of the total annual wages of displaced workers into a Community Assistance Fund.

- A statewide community action group, Massachusetts Fair Share, had started a fight for a public, no-fault auto insurance firm to replace private insurers. Such a plan has already been successfully adopted in the Canadian province of Manitoba, as the national vice-president of the New Democratic Party, Sidney Green, reported to the conference.

- In Vermont, New York, the District of Columbia and other parts of the country, legislators and community activists have proposed or passed laws that impose state capital gains taxes on land speculation or that permit city governments to buy up development rights of land in order to control suburban sprawl and protect valuable farm land near cities.

- Public employee unions in Columbus, Ohio, and Tucson, Ariz., have countered the politicians' clamor for greater productivity by starting their own productivity plans that shift greater control to the workers.

- There were proposals to relieve some of the burden of property taxes on homeowners and farmers by taxing "intangible property," primarily stocks and bonds. Taxing dividends, interest, capital gains and royalty income of individuals, with exemptions for those with low income, at an 8 percent rate would yield \$9.5 billion a year to state and local treasuries of

Photos by Doyle Niemann

the 50 states, reduce other property taxes by an average of 12.7 percent and place the tax burden more heavily on the rich.

• Dozens of local strategies for new forms of energy development and conservation have been initiated. The town of Davis, Calif., for example, recently passed a building code that strongly encourages use of solar heating and conservation. Proposals ranging from municipal ownership of utilities (already in effect in over 2,000 communities as a legacy of populist pressure earlier in the century) to methane gas production in city sewage plants or establishment, as in Hartford, Conn., of non-profit energy and conservation development agencies were exchanged among representatives of cities from across the country.

• Family Farm Acts, parts of which have been enacted in many of the states of the Great Plains and the Midwest, would prohibit or at least discourage corporate ownership of farmland, change inheritance tax laws to permit children to succeed their parents in farming without confederate taxes, and provide financing to help new farmers get a start. Farm and city activists also suggested reviving the old "farmers' market" idea, linking producers—possibly farming in urban rooftop greenhouses—more directly with consumers.

The list goes on and on. The Denver conference, like most of the group's publications, dealt usually with fiscal, development, resource and administrative issues rather than the provision of human services, often the focus of urban protest. What distinguishes the Conference proposals, pulled together from dozens of obscure sources, is both their technical competence and detail. They all have an air of practicality. Conference leaders like to talk of being in the mainstream of American politics but trying to direct the stream down a different course.

Anti-government feeling.

"We have become the national forum for innovative state and local policies," Lee Webb, executive director of the Conference, says. "Now we are attracting some of the best people in the country to local policies. Politics are changing. The venues are different. In the '60s it was criticism of social services to more people. Now are the toughest questions of control of government, reform. Here is a group of people who see government as exciting and a good instrument and political force. I feel confident that we have the skills to govern the cities and the states now."

The Conference proposals embody a trend toward greater public control of basic decisions about where money goes and how society develops, whether through direct governmental action or control over private investment. One of the political problems they face is a deep-seated American strain of distrust of and hostility toward government. For example, much as Massachusetts Fair Share's blue-collar members hated the private insurance companies, organizer Michael Ansara said, the only institution they hated more was the government bureaucracy, which would have administered a public auto insurance plan.

Part of the problem is the history of American governments at all levels getting stuck with doing everything from running mass transit systems to delivering mail that private entrepreneurs have done badly or at a great loss. Profitable enterprises are left to capitalists. "Tear down socialism," Madison, Wis., Mayor Paul Soglin called it. What some conference activists suggest as an alternative is their modest brand of "sewer socialism."

However, without a political force to bring it about, the best-laid sewer plans remain more in the realm of "wicker chair socialism," hip and progressive ideas that are fun to muse about. Although Webb cautioned at the close of the conference that what they were interested in was "programs, not politics," politics inevitably crept into workshops, plenaries and hallway conversations.

Electoral limitations.

One of the main themes the political conversations returned to was building a base of support. Barbara Black, one of the Conference founders, warned against a tendency to build a new popular force from the top down rather than from the bottom

up. But there was a tendency for many of the elected or aspiring officials to think largely in terms of mobilizing votes on election day.

"The dynamics of electoral organization would be radically different if candidates were clearly held accountable by a majoritarian constituency of blue-collar and poor people who are very, very well organized," argued Ansara of Massachusetts Fair Share, which now numbers around 3,000 largely blue-collar members in chapters throughout the state. "Even assuming you want an electoral end, the electoral process is the worst way of building the organizations. Electoral work is episodic, and the nature of technical demands and timetables of elections means that is not where you develop local leadership and permanence of a people's machine."

In an oblique criticism of the Conference method, Ansara argued that activists must ask of a political program "not only does it make social sense but does it permit us to build the political organization we

"to keep my feet to the fire" and to come up with ideas. Alan Spear, a state senator from Minnesota, said that the process of selling out started not with bribes but with "people getting sucked up in the game of politics. Soon that exhilaration, that joy of winning and mastering the game becomes an end in itself" without pressure from an organized constituency.

Since by far most of the conference participants were white and well-educated, it was a healthy sign that they recognized the need for coalitions. Building those coalitions will be difficult without some greater willingness to work with blacks or other minorities and with organized labor from the beginning. Ruth Yannatta concluded that one serious blow to her campaign was the nearly complete support by blacks in her district for a conservative black candidate.

Hartford, Conn., city council member and Democratic party leader Nicholas Carbone was more successful in pushing the public employee unions in his city to

***Why work as a Democrat?
Who are our allies? Can
socialism be packaged as
"economic democracy"? Is
there any hope for Carter?
Leftist politicians at
the 3rd Conference on
Alternative State and Local
Public Policy faced tough
questions as they nursed
election defeats, celebrated
victories, and worked out
detailed new laws to push.
"We have the skills to
govern the cities and states
now," they confidently say.***

need." The Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), an outgrowth of Tom Hayden's California Senatorial campaign, presents a new kind of society as the ideological glue of the organization in contrast with the Fair Share approach of defending threatened standards of living. CED strategist Richard Flacks and Ansara agreed that at this point the defensive and offensive approaches may appeal to different social groups. Yet there was no clear sense among conference-goers about how to combine the defensive and the innovative, or the "activist" and the "electoral," approaches.

Labor and blacks.

The limitations of purely electoral work showed up in the recurrent worries among elected officials themselves about "selling out" and the need for continuing citizen pressure to force legislators to do anything. Cesar Chavez operates on a three-year rule, Tom Hayden reported. Get whatever you can from a candidate you support within that time, because after that he's lost. Barney Frank recalled sitting in his office with fellow legislators "wishing that somebody would write us letters about something." Rather than present a program for ACTION, Sam Brown made an appeal to the conference

find allies among the community by fighting for broad political demands as well as their personal self-interest. The first campaign of the public employee unions, for example, was not for more state money to pay city worker salaries but for higher welfare payments. State legislators were bowled over when a Hartford cop testified that welfare increases would cut crime, since so many people on his beat were driven to petty thievery because of frustrating impoverishment.

Yet throughout the conference, as the leader of the Colorado Committee on Political Education of the state AFL-CIO, Kathy Oatis, said, there was an unmistakable tendency to ignore labor unions or even to see them as antagonists.

Hayden's doubts.

Once they were intrigued with some of the concrete reforms, what the people at the conference seemed to need most—and find least—was a sense of strategy. Tom Hayden, speaking at an early Sunday morning workshop (to the chagrin of his close supporters, who thought he should have had a more prominent platform), said that he enjoyed getting together with the people at the conference, "but as Sunday rolls around the question comes to me more and more: what are we doing here,

where are we going, and what would we like to be in 10 years? It's not enough to discuss alternatives. We're into the making of an alternative. A lot of time and energy of people's lives have gone into struggles. We ended a war, toppled two presidents, desegregated the South, broke other barriers of discrimination—things that in other countries would have brought us into power, but we are almost invisible on the American political scene. We have no program, no organization, no identity. How could we accomplish so much and have so little at the end?"

Without a political program, leadership that is experienced and trusted, an organization that can keep leaders accountable and win victories, a sense of unity, and determination or spirit, no alternative could be made, no power could be wrested away, Hayden said. "Economic democracy," seen as a more palatable phrase for Americans than socialism, provides a general program connecting day-to-day and long-term issues, he thought.

However, during the conference there was little political or economic analysis of American society overall, with the partial exception of Barry Commoner's hard-hitting speech on Carter's energy program (see page 3), and little effort at fleshing out images of either economic democracy or socialism. Both that analysis and vision are necessary if the reforms that the Conference so deftly designs are going to feed the growth of mass organizations and to retain a cutting edge toward a new order.

The vision can also define the progressive candidates as a real alternative. Yannatta lamented that her regular organization Democratic opponent came out in favor of nearly all her positions in the primary, undercutting her appeal as a distinctive consumer advocate. Her lesson, addressed to those distressed by recent defeats of solid progressive candidates, was "not that we're too liberal, too left or too programmatic, but that we're not enough."

Why be a Democrat?

Lurking everywhere, but addressed tangentially, was the question of the relationship of these progressives to the Democratic party. "This dream about [making leaders accountable] can't happen unless you have a political party," Hayden said. "Excuse me if that gives you a heart attack." Nobody seemed stricken with angina, but the speeches about the Carter administration showed signs of discomfort ranging from mild heartburn to nausea. "Life under the Democrats looks like life under the Republicans," Frank told the assembly. "Andy Young's moralizing is the only difference. The choice between Ford and Carter was a choice between Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde and Mr. Hyde." Carbone called for progressives to make Carter accountable and live up to the high demands of people who elected him, but Hayden said the Democratic party existed only for election of slates, not accountability to those who elected them.

Why work in the Democratic party? Because it's possible, Hayden said, and "that's where the votes you want are." Yet there were yearnings for an alternative to the Democratic party, yearnings reluctantly suppressed in favor of a struggle within it. "Right now our own party is an absolute necessity," Californian Alvin Duskin said in a workshop, "and an absolute impossibility."

Conference leaders justifiably insist that they are not trying to form the nucleus of a new organization but are simply sticking to "what we do well," as Lee Webb said, the development of good reform legislation. However, socialists within the conference would do well to push future assemblies toward at least discussing more fully strategies, organization, relationship to the Democratic party, socialist visions and the contours of the current political scene. If the conference aids those pressing debates more it will do even better at what it does well now. Then the answer to the woman's question—is it possible to speak out for the people's issues without sounding anti-business—might be much clearer to all.

Conference publications, including the latest anthology, *New Directions in State and Local Public Policy*, are available from 1901 Q Street, NW, Washington, DC, 20009.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

The world socialist rainbow

With the formation of the Third International in 1919, the world socialist movement divided into two major camps, the Communists and the social democrats. Increasingly after that time, social democrats relinquished their revolutionary goals and became supporters of managed capitalism and later of the cold war against the Soviet Union. Communists, on the other hand, sustained their revolutionary commitment but increasingly identified socialism with the Soviet state and society. Communists in the West found themselves subordinating the development of democratic socialist theory and politics in their own countries to the defense of the Soviet national interest.

Even those Communists who had doubts about Soviet practices and priorities justified them as necessary in the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist encirclement. This attitude was sustained by the character of European fascism from the 1920s through World War II, and by the nature of the cold war in the 1950s. But with the spread of socialism after World War II, in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba, and elsewhere, with the growth of anti-imperialist nationalism in the former colonial world, and with growing Soviet economic and military power, the rationale of subservience by communists to the Soviet Union in the name of defending world socialism became untenable as a matter of principle or of practical politics.

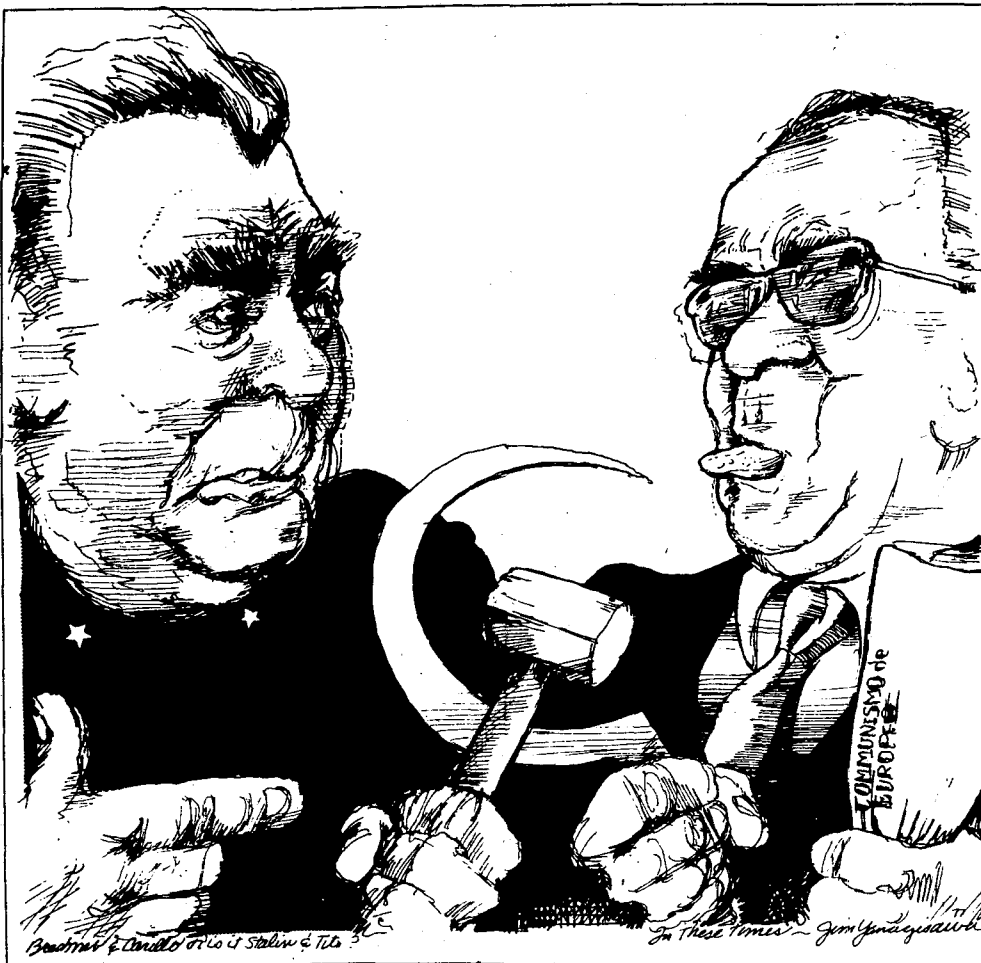
Eurocommunism, despite the differences among the Communist parties of Italy, Spain, France and Britain, represents a break with past Communist practice in two essential ways: 1) the reassertion of the inseparable link between socialism and democracy, both political and social; and 2) the reemergence of an international movement of equal parties, consulting and cooperating with one another, but with each retaining its autonomy in relating to its own working class and national conditions.

New Support.

Breaking with the Soviet conception of international party relations has won substantial new popular support for the western European Communist parties, as Spanish party leader Carrillo implied when he remarked that his only complaint about the Soviet attack on his party was that it had not come before the election, "because probably it would have gotten us thousands of votes."

The independence and democratic commitment of the western European communist parties has also made it more difficult for the United States government and its agents to maneuver against the socialist left in Europe, and for the various national capitalist classes to combat the resurgent socialist movements. The socialist renewal, moreover, has been achieved by a strengthening and deepening of the traditional principles of socialism, not by their abandonment or dilution, as the Soviets claim.

The revitalization and creative development of socialist democratic theory and practice on the part of the Eurocommunists has also had the effect of strengthening the left tendencies within the socialist and social democratic parties of France, Italy, Spain, and other European countries. The Eurocommunists have, also, encouraged those dissidents in Eastern Europe who remain committed to socialism while opposing the restrictions on democracy and civil liberties in their countries. The Italian Communist party's offer of a position on the staff of the Antonio Gramsci Institute to Milan Hubl, a signer of the Czechoslovak dissident human rights manifesto, known as Charter 77,



The growing diversity of communist and socialist parties rooted ever more deeply in their respective working classes and national conditions, can only strengthen a real socialist internationalism based on mutual respect and equality.

is an example of this. There are many others.

Threat to U.S. and Soviet power.

Policy makers in both the U.S. and the USSR are concerned about Eurocommunism, since it threatens the power and influence of the governments of both in Europe. Its democratic nature, wide popular support and promise of socialist unity make it less vulnerable to attack from either side.

For the American corporate-capitalist ruling class, Eurocommunism and socialist unity strengthen the prospects of Communist parties assuming to government

power and posing a mortal challenge to the future of multinational corporate-capitalism. American rulers have always opposed a unified Europe hostile to American capitalism. Eurocommunism may be able to accomplish under socialist and democratic auspices what Napoleon, the Kaiser, and Hitler tried to do—and what DeGaulle dreamed of doing—under capitalist auspices.

For the present leaders of the Soviet Union, Eurocommunism represents another huge step toward the end of its hegemony over the world communist movement. Probably of more serious concern, Eurocommunism by its example seems to them to pose a threat to their own power

at home and to Soviet security in Eastern Europe.

The Soviet leadership has chosen to counter-attack "from the left" by accusing Carrillo of renouncing armed revolution, of abandoning socialist internationalism, and of indulging in attacks on the Soviet Union "in terms that even the most reactionary writers do not often venture to use."

But, in fact, the Soviets for well over a generation have not been noted as advocates of armed revolution in western Europe; the Spanish Communists are no strangers to armed and illegal struggle; they consult regularly with other communist parties; and they see the Soviet Union as a socialist society, though they believe that because it was the first country that "eliminated capitalism," and for many specific historical reasons, it represents an underdeveloped form of socialism.

Not a model.

We, too, view the Soviet Union as a socialist society, but not as the model of socialism, and we think the Soviet Union has a long way to go in fulfilling socialist principles of democracy, liberty and equality.

In world affairs, the Soviet Union has strongly supported liberation struggles and revolutionary movements—most notably and recently in Vietnam, Cuba, and Africa. There is no substantial evidence for a view of the Soviet Union as a warmongering or belligerent state. Its military posture and deployment has been with good reason, and continues to be, defensive and deterrent. In disarmament negotiations it has generally been the American government, most recently the Carter administration in the SALT talks, that has been dishonest and obstructionist, whether in defense of the corporate economy or for broader strategic reasons.

Socialists throughout the world are more mature and sophisticated from the experiences and struggles of the past several decades. The strength of the Soviet Union no longer makes it necessary for blind defense—if it ever was necessary. There is nothing inconsistent in viewing positively the Soviet role in world affairs and the progressive aspects of its economy, while strongly criticizing wrong or unwarranted acts in international affairs and its failure to move toward a fully democratic society—one in which genuine achievements in the economic and social spheres could be matched and strengthened by political democracy.

Growing in rich array.

The growing diversity of communist and socialist parties rooted ever more deeply in their respective working classes and national conditions, can only strengthen a real socialist internationalism based on mutual respect and equality. It can only enrich the thought and practice of world socialism through the honest exchange of advice, experiences, and differences.

The Soviet communists should be proud, not fearful, in seeing socialism growing among the nations in rich array. The conformism of the past was never a real socialist internationalism nor a real and effective unity. Diversity in the common commitment to ending world capitalism and building socialist democracy in varied forms, is the path to an enduring unity and a real socialist internationalism.

We are, we believe, at the dawn of a world-wide socialist renaissance. Too many of us American socialists are oversleeping. It's time for us to rise to the duty of relating socialist and democratic principles to our own people's political, social, and economic conditions, rather than mimicking other people's yesterdays, and add an American hue to the world socialist rainbow.

The morality of inequality

The following is an excerpt from President Carter's press conference of Tuesday, July 12:

Q: Mr. President, how comfortable are you with the recent Supreme Court decision that says the federal government is not obligated to provide money for abortions for women who cannot afford to pay for them themselves?

A: I do not think that the federal government [or the states] should finance abortions except when the woman's life is threatened or when the pregnancy was the result of rape or incest.

Q: Well then, how fair do you believe it is...that women who can afford to get an abortion can go ahead and have one and women who cannot afford to are precluded from this?

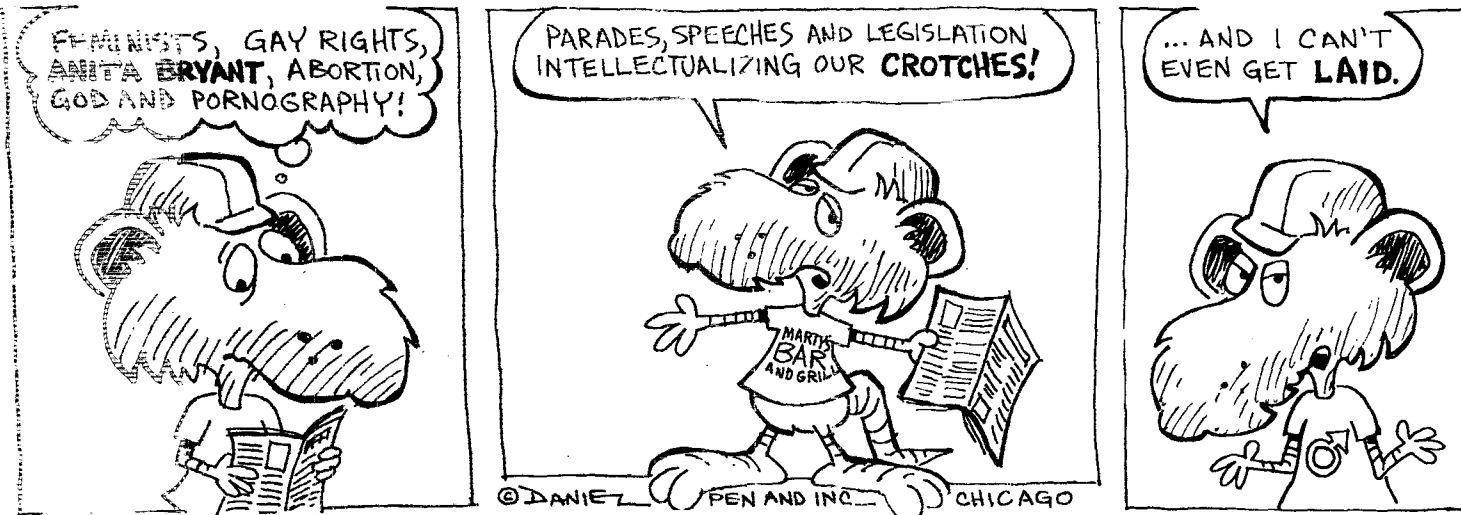
A: Well, as you know there are many things in life that are not fair, that wealthy

people can afford and poor people can't. But I don't believe that the federal government should take action to try to make these opportunities exactly equal, particularly when there is a moral factor involved.

Editor's Note: Or, as Justice Harry A. Blackman said in his dissenting opinion: "For the individual woman concerned, indigent and financially helpless, ... the result is punitive and tragic. Implicit in the court's holdings is the condescension that she may go elsewhere for her abortion. I find that disingenuous and alarming, almost reminiscent of 'let them eat cake'."

Inequality builds character. The Carter Doctrine Saves—the illicit private abortion market, and votes for the next election. Very moral.

THE FACTORY WITH RATSUS



Letters

Likes our Spanish coverage

Editor:

Having, tried for the last four years to do what we could to support the democratic opposition in Spain, we compliment you on the article on Spain (ITT, June 13).

—Wm W. Schmidt
U.S. Committee
for a Democratic
Spain, New York

Advice from the bench

Editor:

ITT deserves credit for trying to analyze the Eurocommunists, while the Guardian and others simply write them off as "revisionist." A recent column by Joseph Kraft provides much food for thought on the subject.

In the Chicago Sun Times (June 25), Kraft reported on his talks with French President Giscard. Kraft and Giscard both want to keep the communists out of the government. Kraft criticizes President Carter for starting informal talks with the French Communist leaders. He says "it hardly becomes Washington to give up on the struggle to keep the Communists out of government in Western Europe."

On one hand, such language contradicts the "revisionist" theory. According to this theory, the capitalists want the communists in the government. The communists have supposedly given up the goal of socialism and will use their "left image" to keep the workers in line.

On the other hand, Kraft's observations should cause socialists to be watchful and critical of an exclusively parliamentary strategy. "As President, moreover, Giscard retains the right to dissolve parliament. He made it plain to me that he would not scruple to use that right if the left-wing won the parliamentary elections." Let us hope that the French Communists and Socialists will look up a second string to their bow.

—Marty Wheeler
Oak Park, Ill.

The Post Office at work

Editor:

I became interested in your paper while reading it at the Post Office here where I work on the night shift.

I like your wide range of reporting, including the book reviews. Best of luck and strength. Enclosed is \$15 for a year's subscription.

—Steve Melaw
Toronto, Ont.

Gays don't threaten family

Editor:

About John Judis' (ITT's Eric Severid) July 6 column, "Feeble family fuels anti-gay support":

Judis was right to try to account for the failure of the human-rights oriented strategy in Dade County Florida, but anti-gay feeling is caused by more than just a "threatened family backlash." Homophobia, like racism, is remarkably stable through economic vicissitudes, though laws can change.

Judis says that "In stressing the disadvantages of family life, feminists gave the gay movement a rationale for seeing homosexuality and heterosexuality as equally viable." I—we—didn't need a rationale. And neither did the post-Stonewall gay movement, although the feminist resurgence helped the movement in many other ways. I suspect Judis is falling into the trap laid by Save Our Children: he seems to believe that the new gay movement (and the women's movement) is inimical to the Family. Most gay or feminist goals in no way threaten what is valid in the family. And perhaps if any point has to be made in a successful anti-Save Our Children Strategy, this one does.

Other strategic necessities may be: fighting referenda. Very few people I know, gay or not gay, believe that Americans would pass gay rights bills, just as it is unlikely that Third World or women's rights would stand up to referenda. The courts could be pressured to use their precedent not to revoke rights previously given, but we can't count on this. And we have few enough previously given rights. But there is certainly more to be said about strategy.

—Jeff Weinstein
New York City

[Judis replies: Gay liberation is a threat to the idea of the family as the basic and universal form of social organization, which is why SOC feels threatened by the movement. Whether or not it is a threat to "what is valid" in the family is another question entirely. Since gay oppression, or homophobia, has existed for thousands of years, gays also needed something more than a gay bar being raided (Stonewall) for the movement to arise. It needed a "rationale" or "legitimacy" in its own eyes, which it did not have previously. The women's movement provided it.]

Boycott Florida citrus?

Editor:

To do Anita Bryant a disservice, write to the Florida Citrus Growers' Association (P.O. Box 148, 1115 E. Memorial Blvd., Lakeland, FL 33802) mentioning her offensive statements, your belief in gay civil rights, and your intention to boycott their fruit juice until the Growers' Assn. stops funding her unholy crusade.

If we can get the Growers' Assn. to dump Anita it will chip away at her credibility with the silent (but voting) major-

ity by showing that there are sizeable doubts about her.

Remember that even with as powerful a voice as Sen. Joseph McCarthy's it was the little doubts that finally lightened his load. 1957 is not that long ago, and timing is everything.

—Robert E. Gries
Menlo Park, Calif.

Emma no socialist

Editor:

Don't you think it is carrying things a little too far to describe Emma Goldman as "an American socialist" (and in the same sentence as David Dubinsky yet)? (ITT, July 6.) I suppose your response will be more articles by Bernard Moss on Spain.

—Ralph Goldberg
Atlanta, Ga.

[Eds. note: Apologies to Goldberg and Goldman. Emma was an anarchist and no socialist. Dubinsky was a cold war liberal. Even so, we hope to have more articles by Moss on Spain.]

New American Movement

Editor:

An unfortunate division exists today in the non-sectarian left. There are those committed to socialist organization, discussion and agitation. And then, there are scores of leftists involved in organizing unions, communities, campuses, issue groups and electoral politics who have no organizational means to link their work to socialism.

The New American Movement has survived and grown in the '70s by attempting to bridge this gap between socialist perspective and presence and work in the mass movements in their present forms.

The theme of NAM's national convention this year, "Mass Organizing and Socialist Strategy," addresses this issue directly. We invite readers of IN THESE TIMES to attend and participate. It will be held August 11-14, 15 Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

The convention will feature plenaries and workshops on the urban crisis; energy and the economy; women's liberation; Eurocommunism; health care; community organizing; the labor movement; campus organizing and many others.

Among the participants will be Roberta Lynch, Dorothy Healey, Barbara Ehrenreich, Stanley Aronowitz, Harry Boyte, Ken Cockrel, Julia Reichert, Max Gordon, Holly Near and Stella Nowicki.

For further information write NAM, 1643 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, or call (312) 252-7151.

—Nick Rabkin
Organizational Secretary
New American Movement

The radical rank and file

Editor:

Your response to Arthur Kinoy in the "Dialog" column (ITT, July 13) clearly pinpointed your position and my antagonism to it. While you suggest that the "continuing weakness of the American left...is related to its failure to comprehend and take seriously the nature of our own political system," you nowhere demonstrate a comprehension of the social and economic tensions within our political system that compel socialists to pursue something other than an electoral strategy for revolutionary change in the U.S.

Your editorial and many of your stories imply that the real work for socialists is defined by a somewhat vague "crisis of realignment" occurring within the two-party system. Nowhere have you presented an analysis of the economic constraints, i.e. transition from monopoly capitalism to state capitalism, on your sense of a political shift and how a socialist strategy would consider the crucial differences outlined by Andre Gorz between reformist reforms (those that facilitate the further development of the system) and structural reforms (those that facilitate the development of people's power).

Your citation of the realism of the European left does not represent a comprehension of the extra-parliamentary left movements in Europe that have generated more advanced forms of struggle, while highlighting the dangerous contradictions of political realities like the "historic compromise." (On this point, you have apparently overlooked the excellent articles by Diana Johnstone on the Italian situation in your abstract references to the "growing power of the Western European left.")

Finally, your reference to the various socialist parties in the U.S. neglects the role of radical rank-and-file movements (as opposed to those established trade unions and their leaders who you constantly play upon in your stories) from the IWW to the early CIO in developing arenas of struggle where consciousness about socialism was raised. In short, you fail to take seriously the nature of our own political system measured against the seriousness of socialist revolution in these times.

—Fran Shor
Detroit

Corrections:

● The review of *Through the Walls* (IN THESE TIMES, July 6) was written by Jeffrey Gillenkirk. Embarrassed apologies for the scrambling of his name in the credits.

● Francis Ward was the author of the article on the retirement of Roy Wilkins as the head of the NAACP that appeared last week. His name was inadvertently dropped.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Patrick Owens

Decriminalization is the only remaining solution to a steadily growing drug problem.

The Justice department and the Drug Abuse Council, a private organization, have invested \$1 million to discover that an unenforceable law will not curtail criminal conduct.

The Committee on Drug Law Evaluation spent the million in an examination of the results of New York's Rockefeller Drug Law of 1973. That was the law that was going to send all the pushers up the river for the rest of their lives. It featured mandatory prison terms and additional money to fight the dope fiends.

The findings of the study, in brief:

- Fewer drug offenders have been sentenced than under the less punitive old law, despite the addition of 31 judges to deal with drug cases.

- Heroin use has not decreased in New York City.

- Crimes against property, often attributed to junkies, have risen sharply in the city.

- The 1973 law did not increase the risk of arrest or of imprisonment for drug dealers or users.

None of these findings is surprising. Any knowledgeable cop, drug counselor or pusher could have forecast the results. A great many did, along with journalists, jurists and academics. I'll forego my own astute prophecies to quote sociologist Erich Goode of the State University of New York at Stony Brook. He wrote in *Newsday* (March 1973): "We think that by passing harsher laws that are supposed to wipe out addiction, that's going to do the trick. All the evidence we've seen from the past tells us exactly the opposite. The laws criminalizing drug possession have broken down—they simply don't work. Gov. Rockefeller's 'life-term-for-the-pusher' proposal displays the same logic, and will produce the same effect, as sending more troops to Vietnam."

Then there is Timothy Ferris. He wrote in *Rolling Stone* the following October: "The only person in the state who seems to know that the law will stop heroin is

Gov. Rockefeller's "life-term-for-the-pusher" proposal displays the same logic and produced the same results as sending more troops to Vietnam.

Nelson Rockefeller. Only a week after it took effect, he announced that drug traffic already was 'drying up' in New York City. This remark was puzzling because no facts could be found to back it up."

The sociologist and the writer for the head sheet were joined by virtually every law enforcement and legal organization in the state in their opposition.

Rockefeller's motives were transparent, as so often before. He first promised tougher drug law enforcement in 1970, when pitching for conservative votes in his re-election campaign. In 1973, he wanted to be vice president and needed to counter the conservative credentials of Spiro Agnew and Ronald Reagan. His drug law was one result.

We may pause and reflect, I suppose, on the spectacle of a legislature willing to assist Rockefeller by passing a barbaric law that everyone knew was unworkable. We may marvel at the capacity of the so-called conservative citizen for intellectual self-anesthetization as he believes against common sense that Rocky is finally going to get the pushers.

But none of these melancholy exercises in reflection will do anything to resolve the drug problem in New York State. Indeed, we may reasonably conclude that no sensible solution is possible so long as the legislature refuses to take so elementary a first step as the decriminalization of marijuana.

It is obvious now—unavoidably so, I should imagine—that criminal sanctions against the drug trade have produced no-

thing useful. If the New York judiciary were not massively corrupt and incompetent, if the state's and the city's legal systems did not encourage and reward delay and if the national economy were in a state of health, a law enforcement approach to the problems of hard drugs might conceivably work. The stress here is on the "might" though: Even under such optimum conditions, we have no guarantee that many young people would not still opt for a ride on the nirvana express. (The growth of drug use among affluent white people suggests that mere prosperity and law-enforcement efficiency may not constitute the answer us lefties once presumed it might.)

But such theoretical considerations are bootless at this point in time in any case. There is no possibility of adequate judicial reform or of economic health (Carter has thrown in with the conservatives and temporizes on economic issues).

We are left with hard drugs as a problem to be dealt with on their own terms within present social, political and economic restraints. In such a setting, there is no practical alternative to decriminalization.

Decriminalization might conceivably increase the incidence of heroin and other addictions, but this is far from certain. The stuff can now be bought by almost anyone in any of hundreds of places in the city.

The three immediate benefits of decriminalization would be:

1. It would decrease the deaths of ad-

dicts by encouraging regularization of the product;

2. It would not end entirely the corruption of law enforcement and the judicial process from drug profits, but it would minimize that problem;

3. It would decrease dramatically the tribute us ordinary folk pay the drug trade in the loss of personal property and in the assaults that often accompany such losses. I suspect that junkies get more credit than is their due for theft and street crime. But even if this is so, theirs is still a significant role. The most important consequence of decriminalization would be to put heroin almost within reach of welfare recipients and other poor users.

There is, I suppose, a certain cynicism in the position here taken. At the bottom line, I'm prepared to have more junkies created in exchange for larger security for my—and your—property and person. Such a trade-off is, it seems to me, essential if civil amity is to be restored in the nation's cities. The level of crime and pilferage is so high in New York now that the issue is not personal inconvenience but the restoration of a caring and functional society.

And it is far from certain that decriminalization would lead to more personal privation and suffering. One of the strangest facts about heroin is that, taken in moderate doses, it seems never to have killed anyone. In Britain and other countries where drug laws are less punitive, thousands of users function as working members of society. Thousands of others have, it would appear, outgrown narcotics.

Which is not to say the stuff is harmless. It is poison, and anyone hooked on it is in trouble.

But to the extent that drug users are the cause of the destruction of civil order in the cities, that destruction can probably be halted by decriminalization. That is reason enough to try it.

The McClellan Kennedy bill (S-1437) is better than S-1, and acceptable

It would have been heresy to have said so last year at this time, but I think the struggle against what has been called S-1 is over.

The most recent version of S-1 was filed in the Senate on May 2 under joint sponsorship of Senators McClellan and Kennedy and designated S-1437. It is the latest product of ten years of work to codify the federal criminal law. Codification as such is a desirable goal, for the federal criminal law has become a jumble of often inconsistent provisions that interfere with the public's right to a coherent and reasonably predictable body of criminal law. S-1 became notorious, however, because the idea of codification, which began in the last years of the Johnson administration, gathered its momentum during the Nixon regime and became another victim of that administration's corruption of the legal system. Right-wing ideologues thought to seize the occasion to re-write the laws to include ammunition to suppress dissent.

The several versions of S-1 that were drafted during the early '70s, therefore, were essentially attempts by conservative legislators, in cooperation with a Justice department dominated by John Mitchell

(now in prison) and William Rehnquist (safely installed on the Supreme Court), to eviscerate the First Amendment by proposing a series of statutes that would be used to punish dissenters both coming and going.

Under the worst versions of S-1, release of classified information, not now a crime, would have been a major felony; the crime of espionage would have been expanded so as to simplify prosecution of those who, like Daniel Ellsberg, disclose "secret" information in order to provide the public with important information it is entitled to know—and would have defined sabotage so that even the most remote consequences

military operations in Vietnam was in the controlling hands of Nixon, Kissinger, and a succession of malleable, when not downright corrupt, Attorneys-General.

Other features that ran through the various oppressive versions of S-1 would have given the government an arsenal of weapons with which to crush dissent. But the new McClellan-Kennedy bill contains none of them. In fact, it cleanses the federal law of the 40-year-old Smith Act, a major burden on free speech that was the principal instrument against the Communist party in the '50s, whose leaders were convicted under the Act for teaching and advocating revolution as a philo-

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It was essential to beat back S-1's assault on the First Amendment to prevent expansion of government power to punish speech. S-1437 is an improvement over present law.

of peaceful anti-government protest could be the basis for criminal prosecution. Another provision would have made it a crime to make a "false statement" about operations and conduct of military forces of the United States. Consider the consequences of such a law where the issue of "falsity" about

sophical abstraction.

S-1437 is too long to explore all its details in a short column. Its 307 pages do contain objectionable features, but it is not the concentrated threat to civil liberties that its predecessors were, particularly where free speech and freedom of the press are concerned. But it is quixotic to

think that any government will divest itself of all legal tools that can be utilized to stamp out or impede opposition to its policies when the occasion is thought to call for it by the men in power. One might just as well demand a law prohibiting fascist *coups d'états*, although if the time is ripe, mere statutes will be swept away like cobwebs. The only real defense against state power is a popular scepticism about that power, strong support for civil liberties, and a will to be heard against the violation of democratic principles.

It was essential to beat back S-1's assault on the First Amendment to prevent any expansion of government power to punish speech. In that sense, S-1437 is probably an improvement over present law because it abolishes the Smith Act, narrows a few other statutes that could be applied to "speech crimes," and leaves everything else pretty much as it has been.

Actually, few people are ever confronted with federal prosecution. The average citizen is almost exclusively at the mercy of the criminal laws of the 50 states, which deal with the daily run of violent and non-violent crimes against persons and property with which we are now deluged. But even tinkering with all of those criminal laws until the moon turns to cheese, is as nothing compared to getting at the economic and social roots of crime itself, as has been noted over and over again, though little is ever done about it.

Needless to say, S-1437 makes no contribution to the solution of the broadest problem. The best that can be said of it is that in its present form it is tolerable.

Melvin L. Wulf practices law in New York.

Thomas I. Emerson says "No!" S-1437 is better than S-1, but dangerous

S-1437 is a substantial improvement over S-1. Nevertheless, the new bill retains many provisions that, individually and in totality, are gravely detrimental to individual rights. We oppose it.

We continue to support revision and codification of the Federal Criminal Code. But we do not believe that such reform should be achieved at the price of sacrificing civil liberties.

The features of S-1437 that are oppressive on their face or potentially can be grouped under the following categories:

(1) The inchoate offenses—attempt, conspiracy, and the new crime of solicitation—are dangerously vague and overbroad, and have enormous possibilities for oppressive use.

(2) While dropping the original provisions of S-1 dealing with the publication of national defense and classified information, S-1437 does not eliminate the dangers of establishing an official secrets act as part of our law, thereby imposing unprecedented restrictions upon freedom of speech and of the press.

(3) A series of provisions attempting to protect the executive branch of government from the impact of political oppression—including the new crimes of obstructing government functions by fraud and by physical interference—would seriously hamper political expression.

(4) The sections attempting to protect the judicial process—including provisions against "improperly" impairing the administration of justice and "resisting" a

court order—could be used to limit drastically legitimate activities directed against judicial proceedings deemed to be unfair or oppressive.

(5) The attempt to shield military and defense operations from political opposition—including the offenses of impairing military effectiveness and of obstructing military recruitment—go substantially beyond the necessary or proper in a democratic society that treasures the principle of civilian control over the military.

(6) Provisions affecting the right of assembly and demonstration—particularly the new crime of failing to obey a public safety order—could be used to curtail the most effective form of poli-

one sanctioning the use of illegally obtained evidence in sentencing proceedings.

(9) The extortion and blackmail sections, as well as other provisions, bring a wide range of legitimate labor union activities under federal controls.

(10) The trend of the Burger Court toward removing federal protections against infringement of individual rights is encouraged and accentuated by expressly mandating the use of community, rather than national standards in obscenity cases.

(11) Reform of the penalty and sentencing procedures is undercut by providing mandatory sentences for some offenses and by delegating the task of achieving

DIALOG

Reform of the Federal Criminal Code is not inconsistent with maintaining our system of individual rights.

tical expression available to those without access to the mass media.

(7) The dangers inherent in political investigations and political surveillance are enlarged by several provisions, particularly the reenactment of use immunity, available in grand jury proceedings, and the creation of the crime of making a false statement to any enforcement official.

(8) Safeguards in the administration of criminal justice are reduced by several provisions, including one that would undermine the requirement of Miranda warnings in police interrogation, and

uniformity in sentencing to a Sentencing Commission to be appointed at a later date.

(12) Probation and parole reforms do not conform to the progressive proposals made by the Brown Commission.

There are improvements in S-1437 as compared to S-1. The new bill omits sections that would have created an official secrets act and would have allowed government officials the Nuremberg defense; it deletes the provision nullifying the insanity defense; it removes the definition that would have authorized the police to engage in virtually unrestricted entrapment; and it contains a hundred or more similar omissions and modifications of reactionary provisions of S-1. The new bill also contains important gains over existing law, including the repeal of the Smith Act; a more effective version of the laws prohibiting interference with political and civil rights; a more sensitive rape statute; some improvement in the wiretap law; and decriminalization of the possession of small amounts of marijuana. As a systematic codification of the existing jumbled statutes S-1437 has some deficiencies, but it does make significant progress in removing inconsistencies, ambiguities and obsolescences from our Federal Criminal Code.

The advantages over S-1, however, cannot be grounds for supporting S-1437 so long as so many objectionable provisions remain. It is unlikely that the bill can be successfully amended. Omnibus legislation of this nature is subject to very limited change in the course of the legislative process. The difficulties of securing amendments are accentuated in this case because Sen. Kennedy, the chief liberal sponsor of the bill, is committed to support the whole bill and is not in a position to advocate or acquiesce in large-scale amendments. Hence the only satisfactory procedure is to start the legislative process with an acceptable bill.

We believe the Kastenmeier bill, introduced in the House last year as HR-12504, and in the present session by Rep. Cohen as HR-2311, can serve this function. We therefore urge that HR-2311, rather than S-1437, be used as the instrument for considering Federal Criminal Code reform.

Reform of the Federal Criminal Code is a worthwhile project. That reform is not, however, inconsistent with maintaining our system of individual rights. On the contrary, one cannot be done successfully without the other. S-1 was designed to impose a Watergate-type straitjacket upon the people of this country. S-1437 retains too many of those provisions to be acceptable. They are still framed with an eye toward affording the government apparatus meticulous protection against every possible form of inconvenience, while forget-

ting the needs of a healthy and dynamic citizenry. There is no reason why codification of the federal criminal law cannot be accomplished in a manner that strengthens, rather than undermines, democratic institutions in America.

Thomas I. Emerson is emeritus professor of law at Yale University.

Quebec is a nation, but that doesn't mean it should separate from Canada

R. McMaster (ITT, July 6) attacked a column of mine on Quebec. He claimed that I deny that the Quebecois people constitute a distinct "nation." I posed the question of "how Canada can be a home for both English and French speaking nationalities." This implies recognition of a Quebecois nation. For reasons of space, I did not present historical evidence that, according to McMaster, can be found in any primary school text.

McMaster and I disagree on the solution to the national question in Quebec. I did not put forward a separatist politics and so McMaster maintains that I am "in defiance of socialist principles." The only "socialist principle" that applies to an English Canadian in this situation is recognition of the right of Quebec to separate from Canada. But recognition of this right does not demand advocacy of Quebec's separation.

My hesitation in this regard is twofold: 1) I am worried about political fragmentation of Canada. I want the fulfillment of Quebec national rights (language, culture, etc.) within a Canadian federal framework. But I have few illusions in this regard; and 2) contrary to McMaster, there is a dichotomy between the social demands of the Quebecois and separatism. This contradiction is not theoretical but real. The danger under present circumstances is that social goals will be sacrificed to nationalist goals. McMaster seems oblivious to this. He simply mentions that the working class supports the Parti Quebecois. As if this contributed a guarantee! The socialist movement and working class consciousness in Quebec are not nearly as developed as McMaster infers. Only in comparison with the rest of North America can one justify optimism.

My point is simple: At this time the Quebec working class would be better served by the creation of a socialist labor party than by separatism. The working class movement in Quebec has developed largely due to the nationalist phenomenon. I do not maintain that the alliance should be broken. Rather I am suggesting that the wedding of socialism and nationalism now would be an unequal marriage.

—Simon Rosenbloom

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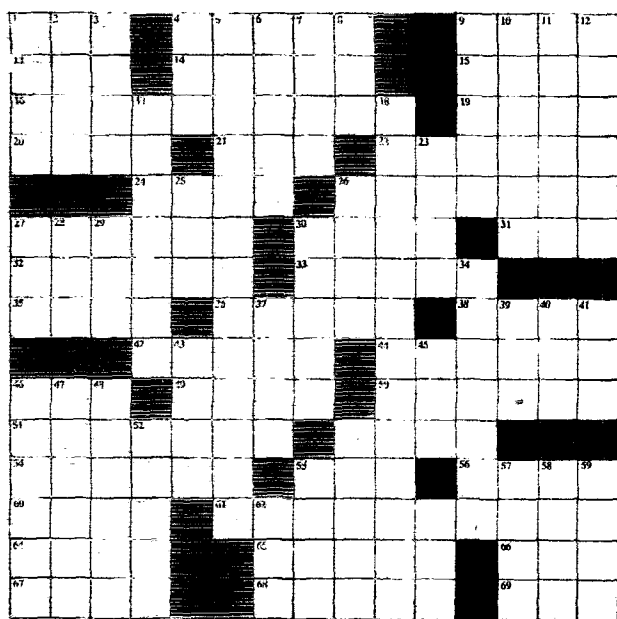
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Via Italiana

By David Mermelstein



Across:

- 1 Family member
- 4 Haste's product
- 9 Soapy foam
- 13 Actress Hagen
- 14 Big oak came from this
- 15 Late '30s committee which investigated monopoly power. Abbr.
- 16 Goal of 40 Down, preceded by historic
- 19 Island site of Napoleon's exile
- 20 Sicilian resort
- 21 Real estate abbreviation
- 22 Turmoil
- 24 Crescent-shaped figure
- 26 Perform a bodily function
- 27 Foreign, in French
- 30 Socialist group headed by Harrington. Abbr.
- 31 From or of the, in Paris
- 32 Nerve cell
- 33 Tire
- 35 Tyrant Eisenhower and Dulles put in power in South Vietnam
- 36 Resort town on the Cape
- 38 Little devils
- 42 Additional or further
- 44 Thawing
- 46 For or Stone

Down:

- 49 Three before mo
- 50 Herman Atkins _____, U.S. sculptor
- 51 Great Italian Communist theorist, known for his prison notebooks
- 53 Japanese cedar
- 54 He _____ the occasion (met the challenge)
- 55 Interdict
- 56 Back of the neck
- 60 Reading for Henri or Mari, women's names
- 61 General Secretary of 40 Down
- 64 Coiler or school
- 65 La _____ des Toreadors (by Jean Anouilh)
- 66 Cube root of 1000
- 67 "We Are Your _____," by the Meeropols
- 68 For workers, the capitalist is the class _____
- 69 Nam to Wash.
- 1 H _____, 1883-1945
- 2 Egyptian deity represented by a solar disk
- 3 Condemn
- 4 Something waged
- 5 Lonely kernel?
- 6 Amount or nap, in Marseilles

- 7 Baseball star, Speaker
- 8 Printing measures
- 9 Violinist Isaac _____
- 10 Get rid of
- 11 Many watched one of these in 1960 between Nixon and Kennedy
- 12 Frightens
- 17 Only major city not under administrative control of 40 Down
- 18 New political force: the wave of the future?
- 23 12 point type
- 25 61 Across is numero _____ in 40 Down
- 26 Addict
- 27 Common conjunction
- 28 Hawaiian wreath
- 29 Anti-communist electrical workers union, formed in 1949
- 30 _____ Lane (London)
- 34 What a wrestling match often ends with
- 37 Guido _____, Italian painter, 1575-1642
- 39 _____ West, 1892-
- 40 On the brink of power?: Abbr.
- 41 Found in a Left Bank restaurant
- 43 Try out
- 45 Hospital initials for heart test
- 46 Consents
- 47 Cave or cavern
- 48 Pennsylvania site of Lafayette College
- 52 Degrading type of test
- 53 Pierre's room
- 55 Chaff of grain
- 57 Prefix for crat or eroticism
- 58 One equal or a nobleman
- 59 Sea eagle
- 62 First woman
- 63 Michel _____, Napoleonic military leader executed in 1815 for treason

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Answers to last week's puzzle:

REDS FINK STE
DEEPER AMOI FIG
REVISIONIST LEG
TRICONE SIRS
PIE SIC SIVIT
SEW FLUM TITLE
FELLOW PIES
SOFT STARS PEG
OVAL STARS PEG
WASTE SCARVAGE
FELL KEN HAVE
STAR POZE MAC
CES OF PORTUNIST
ART BEAN EVENTS
BAS ILE DATE

LIFE IN THE U.S.

1877 mass strike: capital & labor on brink of war



This month marks the 100th anniversary of the Great Strike of 1877. One of the bitterest expressions of class warfare in American history, it was the closest this country has come to experiencing a nation-wide general strike.

The Great Strike came at the end of the most severe depression the nation had ever suffered. Between 1873 and 1877 the fledgling trade union movement had been decimated, its ranks reduced to 50,000 men and women, a mere one-tenth the number of five years earlier. Unemployment was rife in every major city while those with jobs suffered substantial cuts in wages.

The Great Strike began on Monday, July 16, 1877, when workers on the Baltimore and Ohio railroad walked off their jobs in Martinsburg, W. Va., to protest the second wage cut in less than a year. Crowds of strikers and their supporters in the community blocked trains entering or leaving the city. When the state militia was unable to clear the tracks, President Rutherford B. Hayes sent in 300 federal troops. The army succeeded in moving trains out of Martinsburg, only to be blocked by crowds of sympathizers when they reached the surrounding countryside.

What began as a local dispute spread like wildfire along the nation's railways. In the next two weeks the strike affected every region of the country except New England. In Pittsburgh, news of the walkout inspired workers on the Pennsylvania railroad to walk off their jobs, while sympathy strikes were organized by miners and workers in the great Carnegie steel mills. When crowds seized the railroad switches in the city, the Pittsburgh militia refused to act against them.

The militia.

Militia units were brought in from Philadelphia, although at least one Irish regiment gave its arms to the strikers and went home. At one Pittsburgh railroad crossing, the militia fired on the strikers, killing 20 people. The crowd's response was one of the most dramatic acts of insurrection in American history, the burning of the Pittsburgh railroad yards. On Sunday and Monday, July 23 and 24, 104 locomotives and 2,000 railroad cars went up in flames. To one local newspaper it seemed "the beginning of a great civil war in this country, between capital and labor."

In Chicago, according to one labor his-

An eminent historian explains the significance of the great strike of 1877 on its 100th anniversary.

torian, the Great Strike was "almost a revolution, but without revolutionary intent." Events there began with a meeting called by the Workingmen's party, a small socialist organization, and with a spontaneous walkout by railroad switchmen. On July 24, representatives of dozens of trades met to formulate demands for higher wages and an eight-hour day; the next day, crowds of strikers closed down virtually every business in the city. On the final day of the struggle in Chicago, troops and armed bands of middle-class citizens restored order, but only after severe fighting near railroad viaducts, attacks on railroad property and pitched battles between strikers and police. At the same time, a general strike for the eight-hour day shut down the city of St. Louis for several days and railroad property was destroyed in Buffalo.

One of the most remarkable features of the 1877 upheaval was the widespread popular sympathy for the railroad strikers. "It is folly," said the *New York Tribune*, "to blink at the fact that ... public opinion is almost everywhere in sympathy with the insurrection." Whole communities united behind the strikers, expressing the widespread hostility to the hated railroads. The largest capitalist enterprises in the country, railroads symbolized the new industrial era, which indeed they had helped to create. Cities like Chicago and Pittsburgh could hardly have existed without the railroad, but in these cities there was broad resentment against discrimination in railroad rates, the corruption of state legislatures by railroad money and the gobbling up of the public domain by the companies.

The power of the railroads.

Railroad managers were the power brokers of post-Civil War America. The "bargain of 1877," which had ended Reconstruction some months earlier by provid-

ing for the withdrawal of the last federal troops from the South, had been engineered by railroad men. How ironic that this same year witnessed the use of federal troops against northern workers; the issue of slavery and race which had divided the nation for so long seemed to have been replaced by the issue of Americanism's response to the newly industrialized society.

The most remarkable thing about the 1877 strike was its spontaneity. The timid railroad brotherhoods—organizations of skilled engineers and firemen—were not involved in organizing the strike. The unorganized switchmen took the lead, along with thousands of factory workers who were not yet members of unions. The strike revealed a high degree of labor solidarity, but also some of the tensions that existed in the working class. In St. Louis there was unity between black and white workers; in San Francisco a mass meeting called to discuss a sympathy strike ended in rioting against the Chinese community.

Finally, federal troops succeeded in putting an end to the strike. The massive armories that still stand in the centers of American cities, often on land donated by chambers of commerce, are a legacy of the events of 1877, monuments to fears of internal upheaval rather than invasion from abroad.

Class consciousness.

The Great Strike ushered in a period of class consciousness and militant labor/capital conflict unprecedented in their history of this—and perhaps any other—nation. The use of federal troops aroused tremendous bitterness in working-class communities and the experience of the Great Strike helps explain the rapid rise of the Knights of Labor and of local labor political parties in the following decade. Areas like the anthracite mining region of Pennsylvania, occupied for months by the troops, remained centers of radicalism for decades.

Ironically, President Hayes himself drew one of the major lessons from the events of 1877. Ten years afterwards he asked in a letter, "Shall the railroads govern the country, or shall the people govern the railroads? ... This is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people no longer. It is a government of corporations, by corporations, and for corporations. How is this?" Hayes had no answer. One hundred years later the question is still with us.

Eric Foner is the author of Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men, and Tom Paine.

SPORTS

All-around Borg wins Wimbledon

by Mark Naison

Bjorn Borg's victory at Wimbledon this year—his second in a row—is one of the most remarkable feats in tennis history. On his way to the championship Borg had to beat the Nestase and Jimmy Connors—considered by many the most talented players in the game—and Vitas Gerulaitis, a young New Yorker who was the first American in 16 years to win the Italian Open. Borg's five set matches against Connors and Gerulaitis were among the finest ever seen on Wimbledon Center Court.

But what makes Borg's achievement so unique is that he was brought up on clay and has big top spin strokes that are far better suited for slow surfaces than for grass. Other players with similar styles—Guillermo Vilas, Patric Dibs, and Harold Solomon—were knocked out in the early rounds of Wimbledon. Borg completely neutralizes top-spin. Looping drives that bounce over an opponent's head on clay sit up waist high on grass, perfect targets for players who hit flat or underspin approach shots, and it's difficult to hit top-spin passing shots against the low, skidding balls hit by an experienced grass-court player.

That Borg could win Wimbledon two years in a row on a surface so inimical to his style is an extraordinary athletic achievement, equivalent to say, O.J. Simpson switching to linebacker and winning all-pro honors, or Dr. J making the NBA All-Star team as a playmaking guard.

In fact, it's Borg's all round athletic ability that distinguishes him from the other great clay court players in the game today. His serve and overhead strokes which are rarely decisive on clay, but crucial on grass—are among the best in the world, and his endurance is unsurpassed. If the match goes five sets, you almost know Borg is going to win. His superior strength and conditioning, along with an unusually slow heartbeat, give him an edge the longer the match drags on.

Borg's victory, however impressive, does not mean that he will dominate men's tennis for the foreseeable future. Although I believe that Borg will emerge as the best player of his era—decisively surpassing Jimmy Connors within the next few years—he will continue to lose his share of matches. There are so many fine young players coming up that Borg will find himself pressed hard in virtually any tournament he plays in. Although he'll psych himself up for the big ones—Wimbledon, Forest Hills, the WCT Championships—he'll be "upset" quite a bit in lesser tournaments, when boredom, fatigue or lack of concentration remove the slight edge that separates him from the rest of the players.

But all that's great for tennis fans. What Borg's victory symbolizes, above all, is the rising quality of men's tennis, sparked by an influx of talented athletes into a sport that once had an aristocratic aura. The U.S. is leading the way in this change. Three out of the four Wimbledon semi-finalists were Americans, including an 18-year-old U.S. Junior champion named John McEnroe.

With 29 million Americans now playing tennis, the base for the sport has broadened to bring a sizable portion of the population in contact with it, and the glamour and money associated with the game attracts many teenage athletes who would previously have focused their energies on baseball, basketball or football. The poorest strata of the population have not yet been drawn into the sport—but if they are, watch out! In 20 years, you may see a Dr. J. on clay.

The situation in women's tennis,

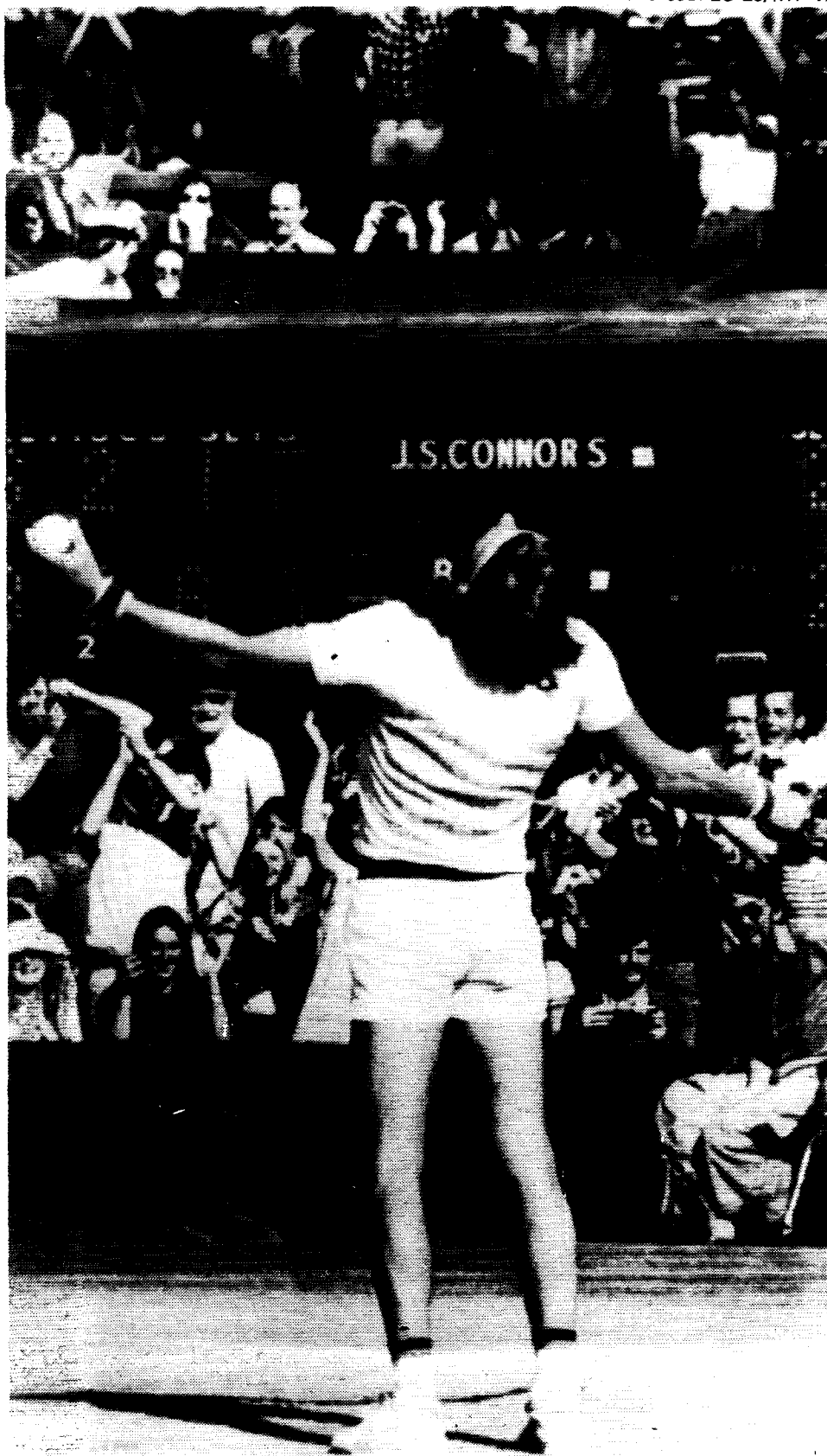
Borg's victory at Wimbledon two years in a row and on a surface so inimical to his style is an extraordinary achievement—like Dr. J making the NBA All-Star team as a playmaking guard.

though improving, still reflects the barrier that prevents women from devoting themselves wholeheartedly to sports. For the last ten years, a handful of women—Billie Jean King, Margaret Court, Chris Evert, Virginia Wade and Yvonne Goolagong—have dominated the women's circuit, and few other women have been even close.

The finals and semi-finals women's tournaments have often been more exciting than the men's, featuring epic contests between great athletes and competitors, but you always know who's going to get there.

Before we reach the point where the women's circuit is like the men's—where upsets are the rule, and preliminary matches are often better than the finals—there has to be a dramatic growth in the number of young women who play tennis seriously and make excellence in the sport the focal point of their lives. Until there's a big change in popular attitudes toward women in sports and a far more equitable distribution of athletic resources, that isn't going to happen.

Mark Naison, along with Jack Russell, coordinates sports coverage for *In These Times*.



Bjorn Borg thanks the gods as he closes out a five-set victory over American Jimmy Connors. Virginia Wade won the women's final over Betty Stowe.

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Commoner on energy

Continued from page 3.

er said, would allot 53 percent of new energy requirements to electrical power and only 36 percent to direct heat.

The development of more electrical power and shift of energy consumption—"a rationing of energy from consumers to industry," Commoner called it—will lead to an electrified economy that provides fewer jobs. It will also mean greater capital demands, to be met through cutting the real income of American workers. "Every report on the capital shortage concludes that we must cut consumption," Commoner said. "Austerity is the way to accumulate capital." Now I ask you, if you were elected President, could you get away with that? No, not unless you called it 'conservation.' Even now General Electric has threatened to pull out of the nuclear generator business unless it gets federal subsidies, he said.

Nuclear over solar power.

The adoption of the nuclear/electrical energy scenario will commit the nation to breeder reactors, which produce more fissionable fuel than they consume, Com-

moner argued. Despite Carter's cancellation of the Clinch River breeder project—which is still supported in Congress—the National Energy Plan states that while "the President has proposed to reduce the funding for the existing breeder program," he plans to "redirect it toward evaluation of alternative breeders, advanced convertor reactors, and other fuel cycles." The alternative breeder now under consideration uses thorium rather than plutonium. Since naturally occurring sources of nuclear fuel will be exhausted in less than 50 years, a breeder or its equivalent will be necessary for a nuclear future.

With far less concentration of power and consumption of capital, with greater safety for humans and the environment, and with socially far more beneficial results, solar power could be the decentralized, renewable energy source for the future. But the Carter plan provides for a minuscule amount, now revised downwards from 1.5 percent to 1 percent, of the next decade's increased energy needs to be met with solar power.

Solar power is much more thermody-

namically appropriate for most tasks that would otherwise be met with nuclear generators. Commoner explained how inappropriate nuclear power is with a parable. If you wanted to press a doorbell at a friend's house, you could use your finger. Or you could arrive with a cannon mounted on a truck and fire a shell at the doorbell. "It accomplishes the task but it is not well suited," he wryly said. If the friend were a technocrat, he might decide to put armored plate around the doorbell, but one day the shell might miss it altogether and hit the house. Of course, then the house could be covered with armored plate, although it would then be a very expensive house.

Toward a solar economy.

Instead of guaranteeing employment and a standard of living during a 50-year transitional program to a solar economy, first phasing out nuclear power, then oil and natural gas, then coal, Carter's plan would block the solar alternative, Commoner claimed. The household appliance market in space heating and water heating is now relatively unsaturated, he said. If electrical devices rather than solar are now promoted, the country will be locked into a non-solar energy economy. Solar space and water heating for homes and many commercial buildings would be

competitive immediately, as Commoner and a recent report from the Office of Technological Assessment agree. A crash financing program of interest-free loans from the federal government could convert 75 percent of the residential and commercial buildings to 50 percent or more solar power in ten years, Commoner said, with the fund replenished by repayments of energy savings.

The competition for funds for the different energy futures is already keen, with decentralized solar power up against the concentrated capitalist force behind nuclear power. In a workshop at the conference, the story was told of a man developing a 254-unit apartment complex in Ventura, Calif., that would use solar power. When the developer went to his friend at the local bank for a loan, he was told that he couldn't get it. The electrical utility was a major depositor at the bank, and the banker said that if he granted the solar power loan, he knew that the utility would pull out its money.

"The most important thing the federal government could do," Commoner said, while urging a concentrated push against Carter's plan and support of alternatives, such as the one now being developed by the National League of Cities task force, "would be to make available money for solar energy."

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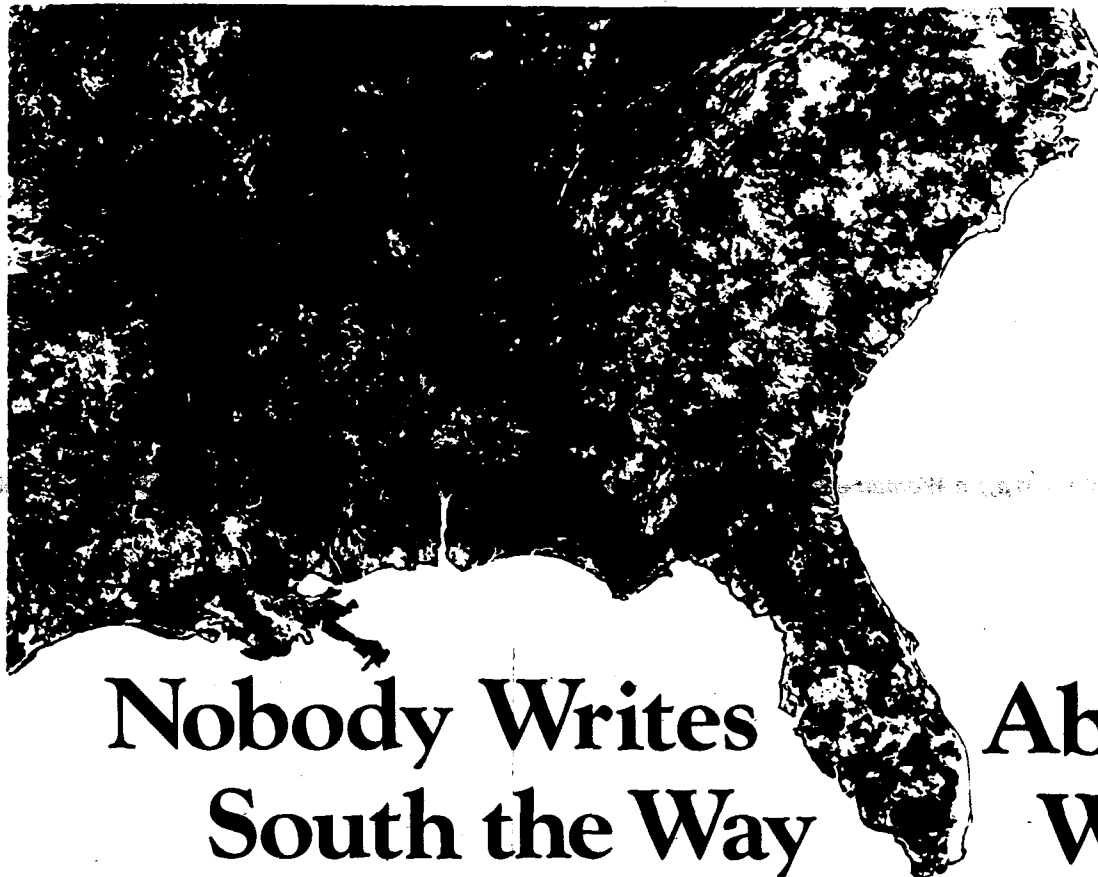
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FILM

Film does homage to Chagall



HOMAGE TO CHAGALL—

The Colors of Love
Directed, written and produced
by Harry Rasky
Narrated by James Mason and
Joseph Wiernick

Marc Chagall was 90 years old on July 7. He could hardly have asked for a better birthday present than this stunning documentary on his art and his "loves" as preserved in: canvas and in murals and stained glass.

Homage to Chagall is infused with the artist's playfulness, his eternally youthful *joie de vivre*, his appreciation and enjoyment of people. "People are a circus in themselves," he says in one of the interview passages in the

film. "They don't have to go to one." Clowns and acrobats are common motifs in his work, and a painting done in Russia shortly after the 1917 revolution features Lenin doing a one-armed handstand on a table while a curious crowd looks on.

Chagall's Jewishness is expressed in two recurring themes. One is typified by the languid, surreal Vietsbk paintings, full of floating figures, through which thousands of people have "seen" the *shtetl* (the small, predominantly Jewish village in which much of East European Jewry lived until the holocaust.) The other is rooted in the anguish of the holocaust, as for example a painting that shows against a background of burning villages,



Above, right: Chagall's drawing of his father.
Above: Vera Brodsky and Marc Chagall.

a crucified Christ, wearing instead of the usual loin cloth the prayer shawl of the observant Jew.

Among the artist's "loves" on

which the film concentrates is the Bible, which he calls "the highest form of poetry." Chagall is perhaps the most prolific and evocative painter of Old Testament

themes since William Blake. The film includes several selections from his series on *The Song of Songs* and all-too-brief glimpses at the 12 magnificent stained glass windows (representing the 12 Hebrew tribes) at the Hadassah Hospital in Jerusalem.

Then there is his love of France—both Paris and the Mediterranean coast where he underwent a "second birth." His lavish use of bright blues and reds seems to reflect the influence of Matisse and other *fauvists* as well as the ambience of Vence where he has lived for the past three decades.

Finally and most pervasively, *Homage to Chagall* captures the artist's love for love itself. The real and the potential sweetness of life are present not only in the work, but in the man himself: his impish grin, his fond gazes at Vera Brodsky Chagall, his second wife, his chuckles and his animated gestures. Chagall seems to have enjoyed life as no one else has. His art expresses that enjoyment; it is his cornucopia offered to the world.

If *Homage to Chagall* has a shortcoming, it is that it offers the viewer too much of the cornucopia, more than can be absorbed in a single viewing. (A press release notes that more than half of Chagall's 2000 art works are covered in the film. One is not so much immersed in Chagall's world as one is inundated by his achievement. I would have preferred to spend more time with the man and to view at greater length fewer of his works.)

But this is a minor complaint, and one remedy is within the viewer's power: see the film at least twice. Unfortunately many will be denied to opportunity to see it even once unless a special effort is made. So far, no major distributor has been willing to handle it. Inquiries about rentals should be directed to the writer/producer/director, Harry Rasky, at 11 Waverly Place, New York, NY 10003, or to the film's press representative, Les Shechter, 1501 Broadway, NYC, 10038.

—David Szonyi

David Szonyi reviews books and films for *In These Times*.

Special effects overpower Sorcerer

SORCERER

Directed and produced by
William Friedkin
A Paramount-Universal release

This is the season of studio extravaganzas. William Friedkin's *Sorcerer* (so expensive it took both Universal and Paramount to finance it) was supposed to be a blockbuster worth waiting for two years to see. It is not.

Friedkin's last effort was the notorious, but highly successful *Exorcist*, released four years ago. From that and his other success, *The French Connection*, he has acquired a reputation as a director with his finger on the pulse of the movie-going public. But *Sorcerer* is a failure, not only as an

narrative construction, thanks to a curious strategy of story-telling that frequently leaves the audience baffled as to what is being said.

The film is basically a remake of French director George Clouzot's *Wages of Fear*. (Friedkin dedicates *Sorcerer* to Clouzot.) In both cases the plot concerns four criminals who seek sanctuary in a small Latin American country that turns out to be worse than any imaginable prison. They all find work with an American-owned oil company, and their lives are intertwined when each accepts a risky job, driving nitroglycerine to cap a burning oil well, the bait being a reward that would enable them to buy escape.

Clouzot's film is an epic of in-

dividual courage (which means that it has realized characters) as well as a critique of the oil company's domination of this Third World nation. It succeeds on both levels.

Sorcerer succeeds on none. The scenario is poorly developed; the narrative exposition needlessly confusing. The characters lack lephth. The milieu lacks reality: a Hollywood "banana republic," inhabited by evil police and helpless, angry peasants, who are portrayed as sick and wounded animals. Their dreadful living and working conditions are delineated with such ham-handed strokes that one is never able to focus on and relate to any particular individual or incident.

Instead we are assaulted with

mammoth effects, overwhelmed with the feigned excitement of journeys through impassable jungle or the crossing of storm-lashed matchstick bridges. The social meaning of the composite ordeal is lost, as the malevolent force of applied imperialism is replaced by what might be called "natural" retribution.

Friedkin's vision owes more to Joseph Conrad than to Clouzot, but he is no more able to capture the nightmare logic and coherence of the one than the sensibilities of the other. The film bobs like a cork on an ocean of uncertainty, its impact reduced to mystification as to why the attempt was made at all.

—Joe Heumann



Roy Scheider as Paul Snider

Cover-up at Bridesburg uncovered in *Building 6*

BUILDING 6: The Tragedy at Bridesburg
By Willard S. Randall and Stephen D.

Solomon
Little Brown, N.Y., 1977, \$9.95

"I know guys who died while I was there. Sometimes, there were two guys at once.... I always tried to avoid Building 6 but I couldn't. I had to go in and pack the pumps. I'd be tearing apart a gear reducer on a kettle agitator...and the siren would go off and what the hell were you supposed to do? You couldn't go down, because that's where it was, so you'd run out on the fire escape for 20 minutes or so....

"I used to get infections. I got sties in my eyes no matter how careful I was. CME left a sweet taste in your mouth; you'd absorb it in your pores and six months later you'd sweat in bed at night and you could still smell Rohm and Haas... And we didn't ever have enough work-clothes. They'd rot, they'd disintegrate in the washing machine....

"Building 6 was a kind of punishment building. It was a constant danger. Those operators had no protection. We'd go into Building 6 but we'd cut it short. But those operators were in there eight hours a day or more. They looked like walking zombies. There's no job in the world that's worth that....

"I always felt they had a callous disregard for human lives... It burned me up. Those guys were dedicated to Rohm and Haas. They worked hard and they didn't ask much from life. We couldn't Rohm and Haas be dedicated to them?"

Bob Mason, quoted above, was a mechanic in the giant R&H chemical plant in Bridesburg, just outside Philadelphia. He is one of few R&H employees who decided, despite the relatively high wages and fringe benefits, to quit because he "saw too many names up on the board"—names of fellow employees who died of lung cancer. It wasn't an easy decision. Mason had five children and a mortgage on his house. It took him a long time to find another job, and he lost the house before he did.

"But I knew I was doing the right thing. I'm still alive."

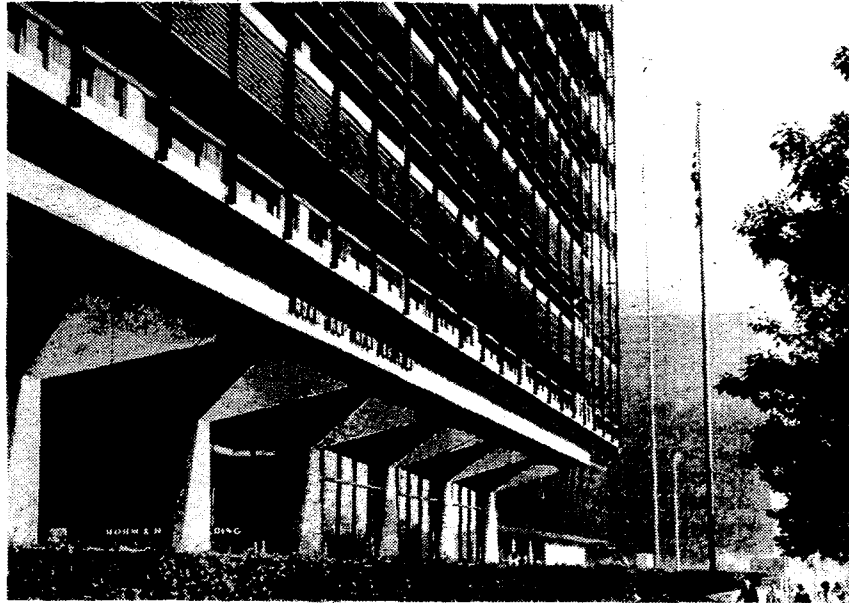
54 who died.

In October 1974 (about 10 years after Mason quit), the Health Research Group, headquartered in Washington, D.C., publicized the results of their investigation of the health problems of workers in the Bridesburg plant. They charged that men were being exposed to a lethal carcinogen (BCME), produced as a by-product of the manufacture of another chemical (CME) used in the purification of water, wine, sugar and uranium, and that 15 R&H workers had died of lung cancer.

Mild shock waves were registered in the Philadelphia news media, but only one local editor was impressed enough to follow the story. Scott Da Garmo asked two freelance journalists to check out the HRG charges and see what else they could come up with, in the hope of putting together a major article for the Sunday magazine of the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. It was an assignment that may prove more fateful than asking Woodward and Bernstein to see what they could come up with about the bungled burglary at the Watergate.

Willard Randall had already put in more than a year researching the health problems of asbestos workers. He thought he had an important story, but no one—including the *Inquirer*—would print it.

It was, as he explained to *IN THESE TIMES*, a "non-subject" for investigative journalism when he undertook it. De Garmo's interest in another occupational poison was the go-signal he needed. He tackled the Philadelphia aspect of the BCME



Above, right: Bob Pontious who died in 1972 of lung cancer after 17 years in Building 6. He had never smoked.

Above: Dr. William Figueroa, independent medical researcher, who worked with Pontious to find the killer chemical.



Figueroa: "We stood next to his bed as he lay dying... I read the names and he told me who had been exposed."

story with the expertise acquired on the asbestos adventure.

Steve Solomon was just finishing law school at Georgetown University when Da Garmo called him. Since there was a legislative angle to the potential story, and since Solomon knew his way around the bureaucracy, he was in a position to cover aspects Randall couldn't.

The two men worked—singly and collectively—for less than a year and produced an article, published under a title that summed up their findings—"54 Who Died."

Two years and uncountable pages of research later, Randall and Solomon have expanded their article into a book, published this month by Little, Brown & Co., as *Building 6, The Tragedy at Bridesburg*. By the time this review appears, the death toll of lung cancer victims among R&H workers exposed to BCME will have risen—by conservative estimate—to 58.

There is no question that "more men must die."

Blue canaries.

Building 6 ought to have as profound an impact on the American public as *All the*

President's Men. It contains most of the ingredients that made the uncovering of the Watergate cover-up a thriller. Also, it deals with a death threat to which all of us have been, are, and will continue to be exposed.

As the authors pointed out in an interview with *IN THESE TIMES*, factory workers "are the blue canaries for the rest of the U.S.—if not the world's—population."

The reference is to a practice among coal miners endangered by methane gas. Canaries are more susceptible to its lethal effect than humans, so miners take a canary to work with them every day. If the bird turns blue and keels over, they know it's time for them to get out.

Chemical workers mixing BCME at Bridesburg, or kepone in Virginia, or vinyl chloride, or inorganic arsenic, or asbestos—or women and children who eat fish poisoned by mercury dumped into a Japanese bay by a plastics company—are first-day casualties in an on-going, global battle. The rest of us will catch it later on, for we are all getting small but steady doses of the same pollutants, and we are falling sick and dying of the same resulting diseases. (See reviews in this issue of *The*

Greatest Battle and *The Cancer Connection*.)

Reading *Building 6* is a little like reading the riddle on the wall of Belshazzar's palace. *Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin* or PPB, or PVB, or BCME, or CME—once deciphered, demand action. And there is no consensus on what action is desirable—or possible.

Bob Mason could quit his job at Bridesburg, but there is no simple alternative for the rest of us, except perhaps following Tom Lehrer's sardonic injunction: "Don't drink the water and don't breathe the air."

"...go run with the rabbits..."

The tragedy at Bridesburg is a drama of profound, paralyzing ambivalence on the part of company executives and the public's representatives in government. There was no premeditation to murder—either on the creek that feeds polluted water into the Delaware, or on the polluted Potomac. But there was procrastination that had the same objective effect.

There is evidence that the company recognized the problem as early as 1962. But

Continued on page 22.

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Recommended
RecordsTHE SON SEALS BLUES
BAND

Alligator 4703

MIDNIGHT SON

Alligator 4703

Frank "Son" Seals is one of a new breed of young black artists who are not only keeping the blues tradition alive, but taking the music in new directions without compromising its essential truth. While revivalist folk buffs are unearthing old blues classics and playing them note for note, and teen rock groups are ripping off elements of the blues and dressing them up with heavy amplification and studio tricks, Son Seals is making music that is basically an expression of personal feeling.

As he puts it in *Blues* (an excellent book of photographs and commentary by Robert Neff and Anthony Connor), "I enjoy listening to a lot of musicians, but I'm not into this thing where I run home, grab my guitar, and try to do what I just heard. I want to create my own stuff, my own version of the blues."

Son is not, strictly speaking, a politically-oriented musician, but there is a political side to his music. When a blues artist makes a political statement, it is not an intellectualized protest, but rather a feeling projected in the form of a personal experience. Son doesn't generalize about unemployment and low wages. He wants it from the gut. In "Cotton Pickin' Blues" (*The Son Seals Blues Band*), he puts it like this:

*Little bee suck the blossom,
Great bee make the honey,
I do all the hard work,
But my boss, he
Take all the money.
That's why I got to leave this
country, boy,
And go to some big town.*

The lyrics come from Son's life. He left his own in Osceola, Ala., and came to Chicago for the reason stated in the song. Like most blues musicians, he has often had to take a "day job" to survive. When he sings about the hardships endured by the working class black, his music speaks with the voice of experience because he's been there.

In Chicago, like many of his peers, Son faced another job-related problem—the run-away shop. In what seems the most deeply felt number on his new album, *Midnight Son*, he lays it all out with simple eloquence in the slow blues, "Feel Like Going Home."

*I used to have a job
Doing spot labor every day,
But when I got to work this
morning,
Lord, they packed up and
moved away.
I called my boss:
I want to know
Can I come back home?
He said, Ah, you know, sorry,
Son,
Nay, you job is gone.*

There is a significant double bond operating here: not only has the temporary job in Chicago vanished, the old job "back home" is no longer available. And there is the ironic possibility that the *Midnight Son* worked at briefly in Chicago has had "back home"—i.e. down South—to avoid the

benefits of unionization, which is what lured Son up north in the first place.

This rooting of his music in his own life experience is what makes Son, in the true sense of the word, a folk artist. Despite some opinion to the contrary, the line between folk and other popular music is not a matter of amplification. The "electrification" of blues is simply a result of the urbanization of what was originally country music.

Like country musicians, past and present, Son Seals is a man of the people.

Alligator Records are available by mail: Box 11741, Chicago, Ill. 60611.

—Ron Sakolsky

Ron Sakolsky regularly reviews blues and jazz for *In These Times*.

THE WAYS A WOMAN CAN
BETeresa Trull
Olivia Records

The phenomenon of the independent feminist musician is starting to surface across the country in a number of exciting ways. (See *IN THESE TIMES*, May 25, and picture of women's music festival on this page.)

Teresa Trull plays for Olivia Records, and her album *The Ways a Woman Can Be* is the expression of powerful political beliefs, rendered with dynamic artistry. Because Trull's stand is so uncompromising, this release will not get the airplay it deserves. But it is one of the best discs released so far this year, rivaling major labels at the levels of production values, arrangement, lyrics, and the presentation of a personal vision.

Trull is saying that love be-



tween women is both a personal expression and a political act. A song like "Woman-Loving Women" lays out personal feelings with great perception. "Don't Say Sister Until You Mean It" is a manifesto of Trull's (and her fellow musicians') anger and determination:

*Well don't say sister until you
mean it,
Don't say change until you can
scream it,
Cause we got a strength that
ain't no joke.
Women everywhere, throw off
the yoke!
You say fighting is wrong, I say
'did we choose it?'
When they stab us in the back,*

*Give me a knife and watch me
use it.*

These potent lyrics are only part of Trull's power. She also has a voice of significant range, covering areas like the blues, country, rock or jazz with equal intensity. She is well integrated with her back-up musicians and their precise accompaniments. Jerene O'Brien, for example, plays tight, punchy guitar, laying out rhythmic and melodic lines with cool skill. The total band functions as a unit (musically and vocally). They sound like they've been playing together for a long time.

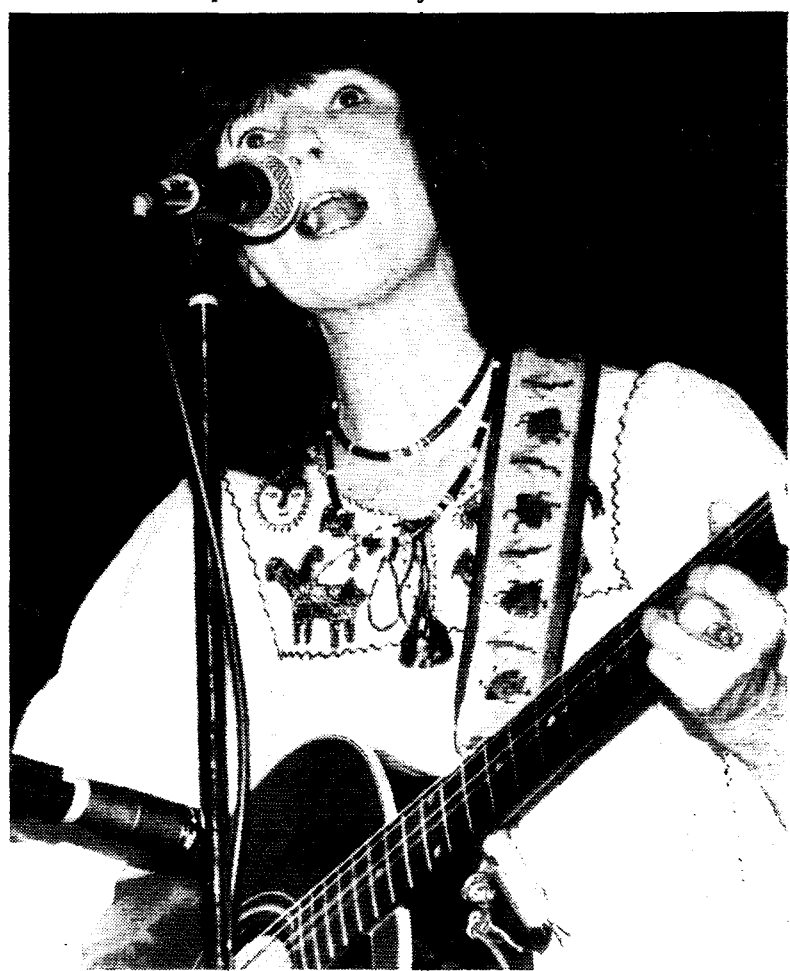
The women of the Olivia collective exhibit a professionalism

not compromised by the concerns of mainstream accessibility. Linda Tillery's production realizes the aspirations of the artist without gimmickry. The sound comes off clear, uncluttered and natural.

An audience exists for this music. It's essential that it get the chance to hear *The Ways a Woman Can Be*. Since you won't see this record at your local record outlet unless you tell them you want it, here is Olivia Records' address: P.O. Box 70237, Los Angeles, CA, 90070.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

Performers at
fourth annual
women's fest

For five straight days over the July 4th weekend more than 1,000 women and a handful of men came together at Champaign-Urbana, Ill., for the Fourth Annual National Women's Music Festival. Among the performers were Joan Balter, Fiddler, at left, who accompanied Hazel Dickens, right, of the group "Hazel and Alice" (Rounder Records), four of whose songs were on the soundtrack of *Harlan County, U.S.A.*

Other performers included Maxine Feldman, Willie Tyson, Kay Gananer, Margie Adam, Malvina Reynolds, and the groups Sweet Honey and the Rock, and Jazz Alive.

Photos/ Jane Melnick

Why is cancer killing us?

Today's exposures represent the tumors of 12 to 15 years hence.

THE GREATEST BATTLE

By Ronald J. Glasser, M.D.
Random House, 180 pp., \$6.95

THE CANCER CONNECTION

By Larry Agran
Houghton Mifflin, 220 pp., \$8.95

Modern medicine is most awesome when it allows the quick reversal of otherwise fatal disease processes like meningitis or appendicitis. Cancer is another story. Doctors more often than not are still unable to interfere with its natural course. Frustrated and helpless, they are reduced to charting the downhill course of events beyond their control.

Ronald J. Glasser, a young pediatrician and author from Minneapolis, has experienced this frustration and helplessness. His eloquent little book suffers at times from rhetorical overkill but correctly identifies cancer as "our modern scourge." It is a fine primer for anyone wishing to assemble the pieces of the cancer puzzle.

The situations Glasser identifies are evident to anyone who reads a newspaper or watches TV news, but they are too often minimized or forgotten. For example:

- 70,000 children in the Chicago area alone received x-rays of the head and neck in the early '50s and now are at great risk of developing thyroid cancer;
- close to 100,000 nationwide get lung cancer each year, and about 80 percent of them have less than a year to live;
- one out of 12 women alive today stands to lose a breast before her death.
- And the list of confirmed carcinogens—vinyl chloride, asbestos, Red Dye #2, nitrosamines—continues to grow.

Cancer is to modern society what meningitis, polio or cholera were to society 100 years ago. But unlike these bacterial and viral diseases, tumors cannot be treated with vaccinations or antibiotics. The only effective treatment is "simple elementary prevention." Prevention is more the responsibility of government, industry, unions and consumers than of individual physicians.

Larry Agran, a Los Angeles attorney who has studied America's cancer control policies since graduating from Harvard Law School outlines sensible prevention programs in a little book that serves as a compliment to Glasser's. *The Cancer Connection* is a loose, sometimes rambling blend of interviews with cancer victims and pioneer scientists in environmental medicine, interspersed with statements of fact and suggestions for action. For example:

- treating as a felony any corporate failure to disclose information about an industrial tumor or hazard;
- eliminating the tax deduction a tobacco company can now take for its advertising;
- requiring companies to be li-



Dr. Ronald Glasser, author of *The Greatest Battle*.

censed before they can use carcinogens.

Both Glaser's and Agran's accounts bring out, as much by what they omit as by what they say, sobering reasons why any "victory" over cancer can never be as complete as triumphs over infectious disease.

The first is that environmental exposures today represent the tumors of 12 to 25 years hence—so even if cancer-causing agents disappeared from the face of the earth tomorrow, it would take a generation or two to see the beneficial effects.

The second is the legacy in America of inaction, deceit and callous disregard of hard medical facts and tough legislation when it comes to environmental cancer. For example the serious occupational hazard posed by asbestos dust was recognized in the public health literature in 1935, yet not really addressed by industry until the 1970s. An estimated five to ten thousand asbestos-related deaths a year right now is the result, according to Dr. William Nicholson of Mount Sinai Medical School in New York.

Another profound reason we can not expect miracles from the anti-cancer fight is the dramatic improvements in life expectancy that have already occurred. Eliminate all cancer deaths, and life expectancy for those under 35 increases only 2.5 years, for those who reach the age of 65, only 1.4 years.

What would the two million people who are no longer fated to be cancer victims have to look forward to? About 193,000 each year would die of cardiovascular disease, 45,000 of strokes, 20,000 of accidents and 26,000 of respiratory ills.

To put things in perspective is not to be callous or to condone complacency. But the challenge for modern society is more than just cancer. It is chronic disease. And as we do battle, we must maintain a sense of balance, realizing, as Ivan Illich so persuasive-

ly argues, that pain, sickness and ultimately death are integral parts of life.

—Robert Steinbrook

Robert Steinbrook is a student at the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine.

Bridesburg

Continued from page 24.

not until an independent medical researcher pinpointed the killer chemical in 1971 was any action taken to "button up the process." Even then, responsible executives refused to accept the results of tests made on rats and insisted on waiting for their own study to be completed. That took another three years, during which roadblocks were thrown in the path of independent investigators.

One of the most emotionally moving sections of *Building 6* chronicles the collaboration between an unpaid researcher and a dying R&H worker to supply background information—refused at the company—that would firm up the identification of BCME as "the most potent carcinogen known to man."

Meanwhile in Washington the guardians of the public good were shuffling the text of a Toxic Substances Control bill with the skill of a conman hiding a pea under one of three walnut shells. They kept it up for six years, during each of which something close to 115,000 workers died of occupation-related injuries and diseases.

One begins to understand why as the authors report battles in committee and subcommittee, in cabinet meetings and executive offices. Nixon's campaign fundraiser, Maurice Stans, as Secretary of Commerce, has to consider the "incentive program" for keeping the corporate contributors happy. A member of the

Commerce Committee of the House is John Y. McCollister of Omaha, whose family owns a petrochemical distribution business. And he is aided by a freshman colleague from Illinois, Samuel Young, whose campaign chest—modest in comparison to most—is indebted to a number of chemical companies.

The Chief Executive's feelings on the subject break cover in a cabinet meeting, recalled by one of the participants, in which Nixon says to his Secretary of the Interior, "If you want to play to the environment people, paint your tail white and go run with the rabbits."

And Gerald Ford is seen dragging his heels down to the final minutes of the last quarter, waiting to sign the completed bill until a few hours before it would have fallen victim to a pocket veto.

Conclusions, if any.

IN THESE TIMES asked the authors what evidence they found that things are going to be different at Bridesburg as a result of the public exposure. The answer is: none.

"The creek that runs alongside the plant is still a stinking industrial sewer. When there are spills inside the compound, fire hoses wash the chemicals down the company streets and into the creek, which flows into the Delaware. When the tide is rising, the pollution is pushed upstream, sometimes as far as the filtration plants where some of Philadelphia's drinking water is processed."

—Janet Stevenson

CLASSIFIED

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2ND ANNUAL KEEP STRONG Banquet. Sat., July 23, at Midland Hotel, West Adams at LaSalle, Chicago. 6 p.m. Speakers will be Elaine Brown, Jose "Pepe" Medina, Jose Alberto Alvarez and Slim Coleman. For ticket information call (312) 769-2085.

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